

VOLUME 10, NUMBER 67/85¢

# FOCUS

## MIDWEST

A MAGAZINE SENSITIVE TO THE REALITIES IN OUR SOCIETY

## HOW DID YOUR LEGISLATOR VOTE?



WALKER VOWS TO FIELD CANDIDATES AGAINST DALEY'S "BOSSED" NATIONAL DELEGATES ■ MISSOURI FACTIONS LOOK FORWARD TO HARMONIOUS DELEGATE SELECTION ■ BOTH PARTIES FACE CHANGES IN 1976 DELEGATE SELECTION ■ ST. LOUIS ALDERMAN SOMMER: MAKING THE SYSTEM WORK ■ editorials: IS SCHOOL BUSING A FAILURE? . . . AND MR. EAGLETON . . . MORE POWER TO DALEY OR WALKER?



# OUT OF FOCUS

*(Readers are invited to submit  
items for publication,  
indicating whether the sender  
can be identified.  
Items must be fully documented  
and not require any comment.)*

The Missouri State Board of Education has adopted a \$611 million request for state aid to public schools for 1976-77, an amount Commissioner of Education Arthur L. Mallory conceded was too little. "We're rapidly approaching the point where the people of our state will have to determine just how far backward they want to go with the education of their children," Mallory said.

Probate Judge Donald Gunn refused to allow the St. Louis Post-Dispatch further access to psychiatric commitment records from his court after the newspaper had used the files to write a series of articles showing some committed persons received little legal representation. No statute calls for the records to be closed, and the Post had complied with Judge Gunn's request that no names of mental patients be used in news stories, though some former mental patients were interviewed.

**Don't Let The Sun Shine In Dept.:** The Department of Justice has asked a United States District Court to deny to the sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg further access to records of the investigation that led to the conviction and execution of the couple as atomic spies. In its request, the Department claimed it has already made all the effort required to find documents specified in the federal Freedom of Information Act. Perhaps.

Toy manufacturers in Japan have said they will stop making model guns that can be converted into real weapons. The announcement came under pressure from Japan's national police force, which reported increasing numbers of crimes committed with toy guns that had been modified to fire live ammunition.

Though he must have been certain the Congress would override him, as it did, President Ford saw fit to veto the \$2.75 billion dollar child nutrition bill, which feeds 1,800,000 students from low-income families daily. He said he didn't object to the existing program that provides 20-cent lunches to kids from families earning below the poverty level of \$5010 a year, but to the bill's extension of the food to those children with parents having annual incomes up to the princely level of \$9770. Mr. Ford described them as "not in need," explaining that their portion of the program would cost an additional 1.2 billion dollars a year. The school breakfast and lunch program that rankled the President would feed poor American children for a year for less money than was spent in one month killing Vietnamese.

The Missouri Advisory Council on Alcoholism held a hearing recently on proposed legislation to abolish state and federal laws that make being intoxicated in public a misdemeanor. Most of the 25 witnesses supported the change, consistent with long-accepted evidence that alcoholism is not a crime to be punished by incarceration but a disease requiring help. Not so St. Louis County Police Superintendent G. H. Kleinknecht, however, who argued that police officers should be permitted to decide arbitrarily whether an inebriated person should be given medical assistance or simply be chucked into the slammer. There is a distinction, Kleinknecht asserted, between "Old Joe," the alcoholic who cannot help himself, and a young man just discharged from the Marines who intends "to go out and get plastered." The latter, he maintained, should be arrested if he is drunk in public. What's a little unequal protection under the law among friends?

Trappers killed 464,825 fur-bearing animals in Missouri during the 1974-75 season. This is an increase of nearly 22 per cent over the previous year, and is higher by about the same amount than the annual average kill in every season since 1934. Despite a decline in the average price of pelts, the kill brought trappers \$2,479,300, a record total. Well over half that came from the skins of raccoons, with 255,910 of them killed for an average payment of \$7.35 per pelt. The number of some of the other animals killed for their skins, and the average price each one brought are: 94,009 muskrats, \$2.40 each; 576 bobcats, \$18 each; 2,566 red foxes, \$15.15 each; 6,981 gray foxes, \$9.80 each; 11,804 coyotes, (shot as well as trapped), \$6.55 each and 65 weasels, 40 cents each. (The use of the word "kill" is ours; the Missouri Department of "Conservation," which issued 5,525 trapping permits this year and keeps data on the results, prefers to employ the euphemism "harvest," apparently in the belief that there is no essential difference between a bobcat and an ear of corn.)

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## OUT OF FOCUS

**EDITORIALS** / Is school busing a failure? What are the  
alternatives / . . . and Mr. Eagleton / We hope he sleeps  
well at night / More power to Daley or Walker?

**Walker vows to field candidates against  
Daley's "bossed" national delegates** / Tom Laue

*Delegate selection reforms adopted*  
**Missouri factions look forward to harmonious  
delegate selection**

**Both parties face changes in 1976 delegate selection**

*St. Louis Alderman Bruce Sommer, a new breed*  
**Making the System Work**

#### 135 Congressional Votes

**How did your legislator vote?**

22 Descriptions of House Votes 1974

20 Descriptions of Senate Votes 1974

52 Descriptions of House Votes 1975

41 Descriptions of Senate Votes 1975

#### Coming Into Focus

#### POEMS

\* / Simon Perchik

River Days / Frank Higgins

You Ask Me Why I'm Grinning / Frank Higgins

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## *Is school busing a failure? What are the alternatives?*

There is increasingly powerful evidence that the busing of students to achieve racial balance in the nation's urban school systems is having the opposite effect intended. On balance, to date it has yielded neither the short-term result of racially integrating a sizable and important element of our society in a peaceful and thus potentially productive atmosphere, nor the long-term goal of providing black children with the same quality of education long tendered to white children.

For bigots of both races this is a source of satisfaction; for those of both races who believe in integration and equality it can be only a cause for regret.

However regret, and a rethinking of the matter, are a far cry indeed from despair, and an abandonment of busing.

As a device for both immediate integration and ongoing equalization of opportunity, busing, in our judgment, should not be cast aside unless and until three conditions were satisfied:

First, it must be determined beyond a reasonable doubt that an increase in absolute numbers of black and white children attending segregated schools is a continuing, not to say inevitable, result of busing;

Second, that alternatives to busing exist that afford more and better hope for achieving the same goals, and

Third, that executive and legislative branches of governments across the land, from the Nixon-Ford Administration and the Congress down to local councils and school boards, would put those alternative approaches into effect.

None of these has been established.

In the first instance, busing hasn't yet been given enough of a chance. Programs of any sort designed to alter a status quo in which numerous Americans believe they have a large stake more often than not have had negative results initially, only to become beneficial, then accepted, then institutionalized for the common good. Our history is rich with examples.

Obtaining and then guaranteeing the basic rights of the working man, for one, traversed a tumultuous and frequently violent road before it became the accepted ingredient of our society that it is today. So too with the rights of women, working and otherwise, though there is a good deal farther to travel today in this regard. And so too in broad areas of racial equality itself; that the monumental Civil Rights Act of 1964 should properly have been the Civil Rights Act of 1864 may reflect poorly on America's sluggish response to legitimate black aspirations, but its passage attests as well to the success of determination in the face of hostility from racists, apathy among non-racists and faintheartedness from time to time within the ranks of those committed to justice. That existence, and implementation of its provisions is almost universally taken for granted today, barely a decade after heated debate with an uncertain outcome, provides still further justification to give busing a further go.

In the second instance — alternatives to busing — who has proposed them?

Oh, there has been favorable talk about, and limited tries at so-called alternatives such as "magnet" schools, well-financed facilities in black neighborhoods of such

## IN THIS ISSUE

Remember all those rancorous disputes of 1968 and 1972 centering around control of Missouri's Democratic National Convention delegation?

Supporters of McCarthy and McGovern were frustrated by their inability to turn their grassroots strength into convention votes. Democratic politicians of the old school, on their part, were bitter and resentful about the demands of those they considered newcomers to politics — upstarts who wanted to walk in and take over without so much as a nod to the veterans.

Recollections of those days may quite legitimately give rise to scepticism about reports (see page 8) that a new delegate selection procedure was accepted by state Democrats of widely varying persuasions with hardly a ripple of dissent.

It remains to be seen whether the accord that was attainable in a committee room can be repeated at the ward and township mass meetings next April, and at the district and state meetings to follow.

For Missouri liberals, the agreement on delegate selection regulations that, essentially, give every rank-and-file group exactly as many delegates as its numbers warrant, means the chance they have been asking for.

It also means a challenge. To make their voices heard, rank-and-file Democrats will have to learn the rules, agree on strategy, and turn out for the mass meetings.

It will be interesting to see how Missouri's mass-meeting plan compares with the party primary that will select Illinois convention delegates next year. In both states, there is a very real possibility that old-fashioned bossed delegations will emerge from the "reformed" procedures.

Apathy and dissension may be greater threats to liberal hopes in 1976 than the smoke-filled-room boys. The makeup of state delegations, in theory, depends on votes of party members, but votes must be cast before they can be counted.

The party veterans, whatever their failings, know something about getting out the vote. (Particularly in Chicago, party regulars have cultivated this art. However, in Kansas City and St. Louis County the new politics people have had a marvellous time in turning out majorities in a number of important townships.) Mavericks of whatever stripe will have to do the necessary preliminary work to take advantage of the system they were so instrumental in creating.

A review of electoral happenings since the 1968 election (see page 10) offers an appraisal of party efforts to meet demands of a more independent electorate without abandoning party discipline.

high quality that white youngsters would presumably be attracted in droves of their own volition; construction of new schools on the margins of black and white areas to achieve integration while retaining the much-



beloved neighborhood school concept; voluntary transfers to any school where racial balance would be improved by them; massive funding of inner-city schools to improve the quality of black children's education, thus facilitating their move, eventually, into the economic middle class, to be followed, presumably, by physical moves to better, previously all-white neighborhoods; drives for greater racial understanding so that mutual fears of desegregation, by whatever means, would eventually evaporate.

We call these "so-called" alternatives, for without exploring the ramifications of each one here, close examination of them suggests that they all suffer from one or another fatal shortcoming — taking too long to be tolerable, costing amounts that will never be available if undertaken on an effective scale, accomplishing integration at the expense of quality, or vice-versa.

About the only action we can think of that could achieve both massive integration of schools and equalization of educational opportunity at potentially as high or higher a level of quality as existed before in a previously all-white institution would be some form of compulsory integration of housing on a neighborhood-by-neighborhood basis, *metropolitan-wide*. That is a course which on a theoretical plane is riddled with questions of constitutionality and individual rights, to put it mildly, and which on a practical plane would make forced busing seem like the most popular public activity to Southies (and their brethren elsewhere) since Mayor Curley and Honey Fitz bought and sold their votes. It isn't the sort of approach in any case that would lend itself so readily, as does busing, to at once relatively speedy, inexpensive and comprehensive implementation by judicial, executive or legislative fiat.

The upshot, then, is that until its critics prove otherwise, busing remains at the very worst a promise, however unfulfilled, a hope, however unrealized, for the integration and equalization of opportunity in America's vast educational system.

At the very best, its abandonment promises only more of the same violence to the minds and psyches of millions of black students now locked into a vast system of inequity, a violence more pervasive, insidious and destructive than any that packs of rock-throwers and epithet shouters can hope to wreck during their outrages against school buses, school buildings, school children and, most of all, the nation's highest ideals.

It comes down to their hope against ours, and if those who truly believe in making the Constitution concrete won't falter, we entertain not the slightest doubt which is stronger and thus which in the long run will prevail.

### And Mr. Eagleton

It was with these thoughts in mind that we watched the recent emergence of U.S. Senator Thomas F. Eagleton of Missouri as a forceful voice against busing. That his wasn't among the more strident anti-busing voices in the Senate did little to assuage the dismay felt by us and other constituents of his who believe in both racial equality and doing something concrete to achieve it.

Before committing himself publicly on any major issue, an office holder who obtains and keeps this job at the pleasure of the electorate must take into

account what might be called the three P's: his own persuasions, practicality, and politics, and it can be assumed, safely we think, that Mr. Eagleton did all three regarding his stance on the busing issue.

As to his personal beliefs, despite Mr. Eagleton's long identification with liberalism, (or what passes for it traditionally among Missouri politicians), we have, in fairness, to take him at his word: he says he believes that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has no authority to pursue a policy of withholding federal funds from school districts that will not employ busing to accomplish racial integration. Such a policy, he says, exceeds the letter of the law as embodied in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, stating that the 1964 Act expressly provides that "no official or court of the United States is empowered to issue any order seeking to achieve racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another."

The legal counsel for the Americans for Democratic Action, Joseph L. Rauh Jr. maintains that Eagleton is saying that "It is proper for Congress to prohibit HEW from administratively ordering busing (by the withholding of funds)."

"But what Eagleton really means is something else: That is, Congress can order HEW to give funds to segregated schools," Rauh continued. "Where busing alone can integrate the schools, you're telling HEW to give a school district money without busing — in effect, telling HEW to give money to segregated schools. That's unconstitutional. It's not even a matter of dispute any more."

Eagleton contends, lamely we think, that when the United States Supreme Court struck down state support of segregated schools in its historic ruling on the Little Rock, Ark. integration case 18 years ago, it was speaking solely about *de jure* actions by school officials, that is, those taken to promote or protect segregation by law. But the Court has not given subordinate federal courts the right to require busing in districts in which racial imbalances have come about as a result of social changes independent of official government, that is to say, *de facto* actions, the Senator claims.

That hardly jibes with the quite explicit language of the Supreme Court in that decision, which stated flatly that "state support of segregated schools through *any arrangement, management, funds or property* cannot be squared with the (Fourteenth) Amendment's command that no state shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." (Italics ours).

As Mr. Rauh put it: "If Tom Eagleton doesn't defend the Constitution, then who's left?"

Regarding practicality, Mr. Eagleton says without reservation that "The social problems created by busing now outweigh the social advantages to be derived from bringing black and white students together . . . To spread a dwindling number of white students throughout a predominantly black city school black city school system is a self-defeating exercise. While the so-called 'white flight' from the cities to the suburbs cannot be attributed solely to unreasonable busing requirements, it certainly has been an important factor."

Thus he writes off busing wholesale. Its relative newness as a tool for equality and the historical pattern of new tools for any sweeping social changes not working well initially, only to become effective



as people become accustomed to them, doesn't appear to bother him a bit.

And even if he is correct that busing contributes substantially to "white flight" to the suburbs, busing across district lines could be just as much a means of retarding that pattern as intradistrict busing may have been a cause of it. In any case, the federal courts are just beginning to grapple with the issue of busing across district and city-suburban lines in a definitive way.

Until that alternative approach has been exhausted legally, and more importantly, by trial on a significant scale, no one, including Mr. Eagleton, is in a position to speak about busing as a total failure. In the absence of giving busing in its several forms a thorough trial, in the absence of proposals for alternative means of accomplishing integration and equalization of opportunity on a similarly grand scale, all Mr. Eagleton has accomplished regarding busing as a practical matter is to give substantial aid and comfort to the enemies of integration and equality.

Which leaves politics as a factor in Mr. Eagleton's current course on busing. We suspect that they — more than intellectual persuasion, more than practicality — had the most to do with his choice to ally himself with the worst sort of bigots on this issue.

Poll after poll has shown that a considerable majority of Americans are not opposed to integration per se, but also that vast numbers of them are opposed rigidly to busing as a means to achieve it. Such things do not go unnoted by politicians, whether they be principled or not, and there is nothing intrinsically wrong with that. The important thing is not that politicians keep their ears to the ground but how ready they are to let dirt rub onto them while they're down there.

We remember well Mr. Eagleton's reasonable position on gun control during his first Senatorial election campaign in 1968, until his remarks on the subject in one address, (we recall, vaguely, in Iron-ton), prompted a hue and cry from some rednecks. He promptly got on his bicycle and rode away from his position darned near into the arms of the National Rifle Association.

More recently we've seen him champion the cause of those who would deny others the right to have a legal abortion and to water down eligibility requirements for those in need of food stamps, which together with his busing stand prompted the right-wing likes of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat's* editorial page to coo warmly about his "rising stature."

Perhaps Mr. Eagleton simply drew an easy conclusion: liberals in Missouri have no place else to go, regardless of his shifts to the right on more and more issues with increasing frequency; and they are a decided minority of Missouri voters anyway; conservatives, on the other hand, who are usually a more influential lot on election day, can count on scores of potential candidates should Mr. Eagleton dare to show too much courage of his convictions.

If so, he ignores the courage of, among others, his friend Ted Kennedy. Despite a magic name and strong ties with various Massachusetts machine bosses who can and do deliver for him, Kennedy is willing to flirt with the prospect of defeat rather than cave in to the black-baiters and beaters of South Boston, a crowd whose supporters can be found in droves in mill towns and working class districts throughout the state.

One can appreciate a Senator James Buckley of New York or Barry Goldwater of Arizona more than a Senator Eagleton in this regard. In their cases one has little doubt that whatever political considerations may be involved for them, their opposition to busing springs as much from their philosophy of government, (or rather, non-government) and principle as anything else.

Our realization of the political pitfalls in a pro-busing stance in Missouri notwithstanding, we believe that many of those who worked so hard to help him win his Senate seat and then retain it deserved less cavalier dismissal of their causes.

## *We hope he sleeps well at night*

Who would have guessed a two-bit mayor of a little town in the American Midwest could wind up going into the exile-creation business? Twenty-six Iranian students were involved in a disorderly protest against the regime of the Shah of Iran earlier this month at a Methodist Church in Jefferson City. They were arrested and appeared before the local police court on disturbance charges. Fair enough and that should have been the end of it. But no. Jefferson City Mayor Robert L. Hyder, former chief counsel of the Missouri Highway Department, took it upon himself to send the names and photographs of the kids to the Shah. In Iran, it's not a matter of a police court but of a police state, where opposition to His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi is punishable by anything and everything that strikes the fancy of the Shahanshah or his agents, with no niceties about venue or statute of limitations to protect the students — when and if they return. Granted, the state bureaucracy is not much of a place to learn about how things like torture, work elsewhere, but that's hardly an excuse for Hyder; he chose to ignore explanations and pleas made before his mailing.

## *More power to Daley or Walker?*

Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley appears to have won another showdown with a political rival for control of the Democratic Party in Illinois. At least, that is the picture at press time.

The move to override Governor Daniel Walker's veto of \$81 million for education had been ordered by Daley to assert his leadership. On the surface, a host of issues are involved, but at the core is the Walker threat. No one has come as close as the Illinois Governor to wresting some measure of political clout from the Mayor.

Daley couldn't have picked a better issue. It places him on the side of "little children;" it reinforces the Chicago machine; it aligns Walker with the conservative Republican contingent in the General Assembly; it rallies educators and labor leaders behind Daley; it pushes Walker further into the untenable stance of "let's keep taxes down;" it makes the gap between Daley Democrats and Walker independents unbridgeable; and it brought 95 Chicago establishment figures by jet to Springfield demanding, says Daley, that "the

(continued on page 30)



# Walker vows to field candidates against Daley's "bossed" national delegates

Tom Laue



Gov. Daniel Walker, until recently, has regularly pooched suggestions he might have his eye on the White House. With words strangely modest for a man who sometimes answers irritating inquiries with the pronouncement, "I am the governor," Walker has steadfastly maintained his only interest is in running the state, and to hear him tell it, that is a staggering task that leaves scarcely a moment to think of things so selfish as the Presidency.

Now, however, on the autumn day he chose several weeks ago to announce he will seek a second term as governor, Walker suddenly shifted gears. He said he is human, and that it is therefore only natural for him to consider once in a while the "awesome" office of President of the United States.

For Walker watchers, this statement confirmed what had been widely suspected almost from the day he took office in January 1973. Not only did Walker kick off his term with an outdoor inaugural ala those on the shores of the Potomac; he also made moves at regular intervals clearly calculated to draw nationwide attention: his much bally-hooped criminal justice program, unveiled in Washington, D.C.; his frequent attacks on Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, perhaps the best known Democrat in the nation; and more recently, statements condemning corporate black-listing by the Arab states and the sale of arms to Turkey.

What was more interesting to observers was Walker's announcement he plans to run National Democratic Convention delegate candidates against Daley in every district.

Typically, Walker said he made the choice, not for his own sake, but to prevent Daley from going to the convention with a band of "bossed" delegates who could be shepherded around at will. There may be some truth in this. Daley has not had an easy go of it at the last two conventions, despite his enduring reputation as his party's "king-maker." The 1968 convention in his own city was marred by peace rioting and he was tossed out of the 1972 meeting. Those who surmise he would like to resume his role as Democratic kingpin are no doubt correct.

But Walker also has himself in mind. With no clear cut leader having yet emerged from the spate of announced Democratic presidential hopefuls, Walker probably harbors hopes the convention will deadlock and then turn to a dark-horse like himself.

Walker's thinking, if this is it, makes sense. With the disaster of George McGovern's candidacy freshly in mind, delegates might this time turn back to a governor who, unlike those weened on Capitol Hill, is called on daily to make dozens of executive decisions, and then live with

them. Senators can make fiery speeches, draw headlines and then vote in a way that will protect both their reputations back home and their relationships with colleagues in Congress.

But for all of this to work for Walker, should the scenario unfold that far, he must not be begging for Daley's delegates. He must have his own. Thus the decision to run his own delegate slate.

Daley, for his part, appears to be doing what he always has: running delegates who are officially uncommitted but who in reality answer to him. What Daley really thinks or plans is anyone's guess but one popular theory is that Daley might barter with his bloc of delegates to get Sen. Adlai Stevenson III picked as a favorite son presidential candidate.

Gov. Walker had an unusually good day or two recently. In an effort to prevent the Better Government Association from forcing him to bare his 1972 campaign contributions via State Election Board regulations, Walker adopted a unique tactic. He went to court arguing the panel's makeup and tie-breaking procedures are unconstitutional. Sangamon County Circuit Court Judge J. Waldo Ackerman agreed with him and said the board may handle only "bookkeeping" chores — no quasi-judicial tasks — until the shortcomings are corrected. The board's flaws, according to Walker and Ackerman: the governor, when choosing election board members, should not be restricted to just eight names submitted by the four legislative leaders. He should be able to pick anyone. Secondly, the four members are required by law to break tie votes by drawing lots. The odd man then loses his vote. Ackerman said key election decisions should not be made by the flip of a coin. Now, the legislature is faced with the knotty problem of coming up with another way of meeting the state constitutional mandate that no political party have a membership advantage on the panel. One suggestion is that Walker pick two and the legislative leaders pick two.

Several days after this ruling, Walker won another elections board battle before the Illinois Supreme Court. At issue this time was whether Walker had the right to fire GOP board chairman Franklin Lunding Jr. who had refused to go along with a Walker order that he disclose his personal finances. Lunding said the board is not an executive agency strictly under the governor's control and that the framers of the 1970 constitution did not intend to give the governor absolute control over it. Walker said the same constitution gives him the right to remove any of his appointees. The high court agreed. ■■

## Missouri factions look forward to harmonious delegate selection

The Democratic Party in Missouri has produced a delegate selection plan which is expected to be approved with few or no changes by the Compliance Review Commission.

The state's affirmative action program, kicked back by the CRC earlier for mainly technical changes, was to receive its final approval at the state level Oct. 11 and was expected to be okayed by the CRC without further rewriting.

Missouri's delegate selection plan was drafted originally by Mike Hobbs, party reform chairman of the New Democratic Coalition in Missouri, Edward L. Filippine, St. Louis County lawyer and former member of Senator Thomas F. Eagleton's staff, and others.

The state delegate selection committee worked on it last spring and sent it to the state committee in May, where it was given preliminary approval June 7. After the 30-day period for review and criticism by party members, it was given final approval by the state committee July 12 and sent to the CRC in time to meet the July 15 deadline.

Following the specific outline of the Mikulski Commission's report, the delegate selection plan provides for proportional representation at every level of the delegate nomination process, provided a group or faction gets the support of 15 percent or more of the persons voting.

The plan provides that the state, district and county chairmen issue the calls for delegate nomination meetings earlier than formerly, so that party organizations and individuals can plan ahead.

It specifies who shall preside at meetings, how records shall be kept of attendance and how voting results shall be reported.

The affirmative action program, which must set out in detail what the state party will do to publicize the delegate selection procedure, was originally drafted by state committee staff members, who worked from a similar 1972 program. However, certain changes were necessary in the 1972 plan to make it conform with the new rules for 1976. The Young Democrats at the University of Missouri agreed and sent back the plan.

However, the necessary changes were more technical than substantive.

Among other things, the program calls for such routine

educational techniques as a speakers' bureau and mailings to various groups in the state. It also earmarks \$5000 (which the party presumably does not now have) for advertising.

The point, of course, is to tell the party rank and file how the delegate selection process works and how they can make their influence felt.

The program is aimed at making sure delegate selection is removed from the smoke-filled room — that party insiders who have taken the trouble to inform themselves (and nobody else) on the machinery for nomination will not be able to dictate selections.

It would seem now that the delegate selection plan, with its accompanying educational program, might go a long way toward eliminating the disorderly scenes that have marked nominating sessions in Missouri in other years.

One indication of that is the uncommon lack of friction and hostility among members of the committee that worked out the delegate selection plan.

All the group's meetings were open to the press. There were arguments, but few caused so much as a raised voice. Most of the many hours of work by the committee were spent trying to word the rules so that a minimum of difficulties would result from differing interpretations.

Part of the reason for the lack of disputes was that the national rules were specific enough to defuse many potentially nasty wrangles. Most notably, proportional representation was a dead issue. It was ordered from above, and there no need to waste words or adrenaline debating its merit.

Another reason, according to NDC's Mike Hobbs, was an obvious willingness by everyone to bury the hatchet.

Ed Filippine recently went so far as to say "there wasn't any hatchet."

Hobbs spoke of "a spirit of accommodation" at work, and a strong belief by all that 1976 was no year to be divided. Filippine agreed, commenting, "We knew it had to be done, and everybody thought the other guy was trying to do it in a fair way."

There was and continues to be some discussion, and confusion, over whether delegates can be bound to certain candidates, and if so, how long, in view of the general aim of





leaving delegates the maximum amount of freedom.

Persons may run as committed or uncommitted delegates, but there appears to be no national rule that would spell out how committed a committed delegate must be, leaving it to his own conscience and to the practical demands of changing political situations.

The Missouri plan finally provided that a person running as a committee delegate at the district and state level must have a statement from the Presidential candidate to whom he is committed accepting him as such. (In turn, the Presidential candidate is free to ask his supporter for a written pledge of support.)

However, the committee spent less time on such substantive issues than on a detailed outline of procedures designed to minimize the number of challenges.

For instance, it spelled out that persons eligible to vote in the ward and township mass meetings at 7:30 p.m. April 20 must be registered voters in their political subdivision, that they must be residents of the area in which the meeting is held and that they must sign a declaration (with their addresses) stating they are members of the Democratic Party.

That is meant to facilitate rulings if there subsequently is a challenge on a voter's eligibility.

The plan specifies that either the local committeeman or committeewoman shall preside at the mass meeting, and that they shall decide which will preside, the other one acting as secretary.

If they cannot decide, then the one who got the most votes in the last election will preside. But the plan does not stop there. Suppose neither was elected? Then the one with the longest tenure on the county or city committee will preside.

"Maybe we didn't need to be so detailed," Filippine said, "but we didn't want meetings to be sidetracked in a fight over who was going to call the meeting to order."

Such attention to detail should make next year's delegate selection process much more peaceful than in previous recent Presidential years, marked by open, bitter clashes between Democratic factions at mass meetings and other delegate nomination gatherings.

The winner-take-all system was particularly conducive to

undignified scenes at closely-divided ward and township meetings, with some factions claiming loudly that certain persons present were not eligible to vote, others frantically telephoning friends and relatives to come to the meeting — all in the hope that a few more friendly votes could be found or enough unfriendly ones could be nullified to give one faction a majority, and with it all the delegates to be elected.

"Now, you know if you're at a meeting where one faction has 400 votes and another has 399, the delegates will be split 50-50," observed Filippine. "No significant minority is going to go home with nothing."

"We were trying to convince people that you don't become a bigger person by knocking the other guy off. I think we've done it. The challenges will be handled by an appeal committee, not the State Democratic Central Committee. The State Committee wanted it that way. Can you imagine that?"

"It wouldn't have been that way a few years ago."

"Two things could cause the plan to fail. One is timing. If the CRC doesn't give us a final approval quickly, or sends the plan back late and asks for changes, we may not be able to start our seminars until January or February, and there will be little or no educational work until then."

"The other is apathy. If people don't want to spend a few moments understanding the rules, it could undermine the whole thing."

Hobbs can foresee problems, too, though he agrees that the new plan should — if the participants understand the rules and follow them — make them few.

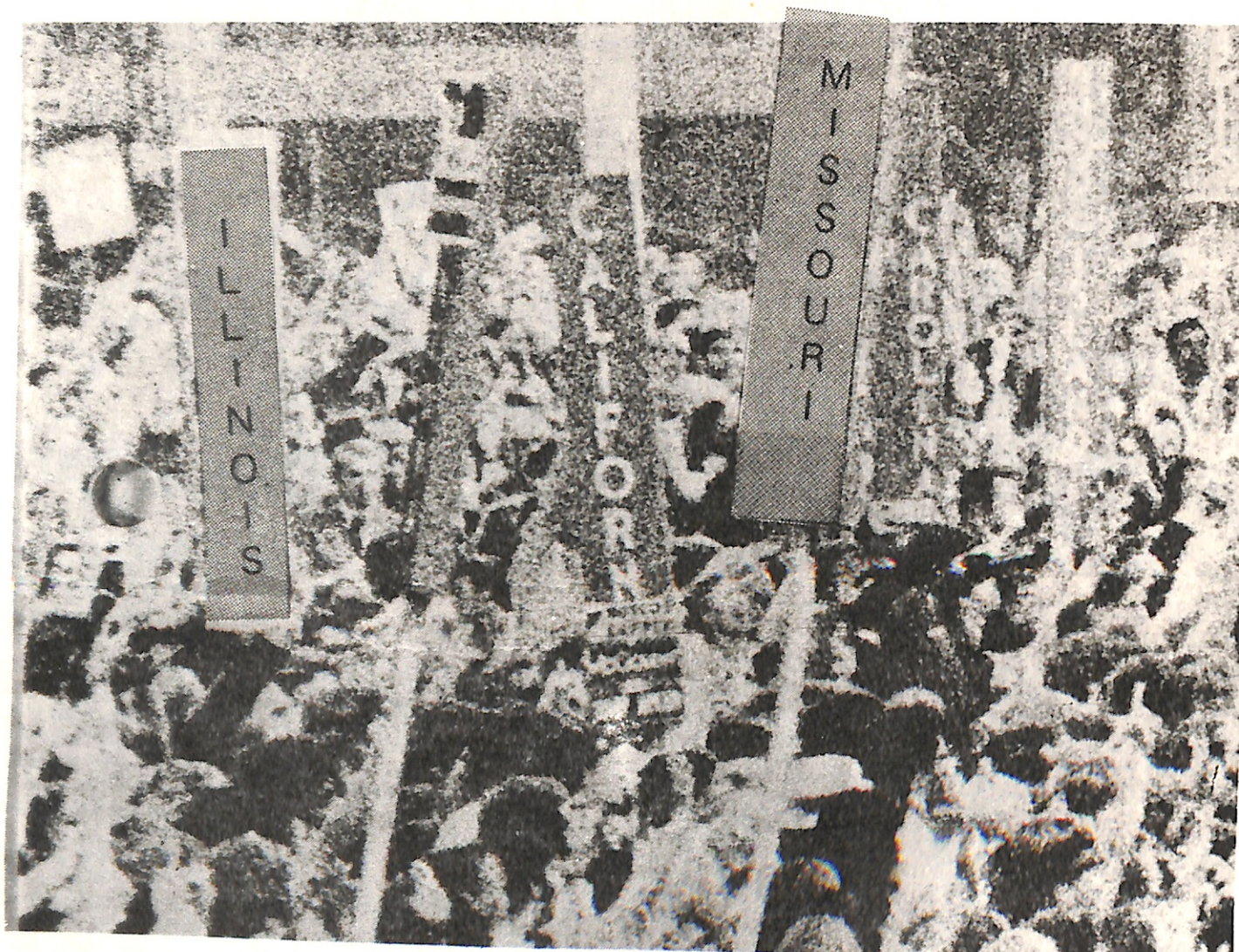
"There will be people who won't pay any attention to all this, and they will wake up suddenly and see they aren't going to be able to control the whole delegation from their area."

"There will be challenges, not only if ineligible voters — which used to be the only way to challenge the nomination of a delegate — but on charges of discrimination, or a presiding officer's failure to follow the procedures outlined."

"What will make or break delegate selection in Missouri will be the kit the state party will try to get to party leaders to guide those holding meetings," he predicted.







# Both parties face changes in 1976 delegate selection

With another presidential election year approaching, both Democrats and Republicans are concerning themselves with the little-publicized but vital business of choosing delegates to their national conventions. Neither party is without its problems.

For the Democrats, with seven candidates already announced for the nomination and several more expected, the chief difficulty lies in the drafting of state plans that will satisfy the diverse factions that have been quarreling over reforms for the past few years. Only a fraction of the preparatory work had been completed by mid-summer, and the rest has to be finished by the end of the year.

For the Republicans, less divided than the Democrats over questions of reform, the block to party harmony is before a federal appeals court. The traditional system of rewarding smaller and more conservative states at the expense of larger and more liberal states is under severe

challenge by reform elements. Success for the reformers would mean a whole new approach to Republican delegate selection.

The strains of 1976 had their roots in 1968, when the push for delegate selection reform was given momentum by the turbulent Democratic campaign. In its efforts to mend the divisions between the liberals and the regulars that year, the Democratic National Committee approved an overhaul of the delegate selection process.

The overhaul was accomplished in time for the 1972 campaign, but unity was not achieved. The shift of power from state and national party leaders to rank-and-file Democrats at the grass-roots level opened up new dimensions of intraparty trauma. For 1976, the party confronts the dilemma of modifying some of its reforms without further alienating its various factions.

Both parties feel one effect of the Democratic reforms:



the proliferation of state presidential preference primaries, in which delegates are elected directly to cast convention votes for the candidate of their choice.

In 1960, when John F. Kennedy vaulted from primary successes to the Democratic nomination, about 40 per cent of the delegates were elected in 17 state primaries (and one in Washington, D.C.). For 1976, 30 primaries had been scheduled by mid-summer 1975, with more to come. Nearly three-fourths of the delegates to both the Democratic and the Republican conventions will be elected in these primaries.

## Democratic Reforms

Controversy over racial discrimination at the 1964 Democratic convention was the catalyst for the creation of the party's first reform commission, the Special Equal Rights Committee. The 1964 convention was faced with resolving a challenge brought against the regular, all-white Mississippi delegation by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which was racially integrated but lacked legal status.

In a compromise, the convention seated the regular delegation after it took a party loyalty oath. But the convention instructed the Democratic National Committee to include an anti-discrimination requirement in the call to the 1968 convention which would be binding on state parties in their selection of delegates. The national committee also was instructed to create a special committee to police the anti-discrimination requirement. Failure to comply would be grounds for challenge at the 1968 convention.

The 18-member Special Equal Rights Committee, chaired by New Jersey Gov. Richard J. Hughes (D 1962-70), was the product of this compromise. It was formed in January 1965 and issued its report the next year. While the committee shied away from mandatory quotas, it listed six anti-discrimination standards (known as the "six basic elements") and requested the state parties to send delegations "broadly representative of the Democrats of that state." The elements, although aimed primarily at achieving biracial participation in the segregated state parties in the South, not only prohibited discrimination on the grounds of race, but also of sex, age, religion, ethnic identity and economic status. In January 1968 the six elements were approved by the national committee as official party policy.

The anti-discrimination standards marked the first step by a national party in requiring states to meet certain guidelines regarding composition of their delegations. And the standards set the stage for more extensive guidelines by future reform commissions.

### Alienation in 1968

Before the presidential election year of 1968, deep divisions already were evident within the Democratic Party, and they had developed beyond the civil rights issue. The escalation of the war in Southeast Asia, urban rioting and student violence were volatile new problems that split the party along different lines. Alienation became a key word as many Democrats desired more dramatic change than that offered within the traditional liberalism of the party's leaders.

Alienation from the party's leadership brought a challenge in 1968 from two senators, Eugene J. McCarthy (Minn. 1959-71) and Robert F. Kennedy (N.Y. 1965-68), whose presidential candidacies were built largely on opposition to the Johnson administration's war policies. McCarthy and Kennedy together received nearly 70 per cent of the ballots cast in the Democratic primaries before Kennedy's assassination in June, the night he won the California primary.

But the nomination was easily won by an administration member, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey. He had avoided the primaries, delaying his entry into the presidential race until the primary filing deadlines had passed. Humphrey's route to the nomination was through the states electing delegates by the convention and appointment methods, which in 1968 were a majority of the national convention. The frustration and anger of many Democratic liberals with the outcome was directed at the party's delegate selection process, which they viewed as unfair and unresponsive to the popular will.

The first study of Democratic delegate selection was made by Iowa Gov. Harold E. Hughes (D 1963-69), who in the summer of 1968 chaired a seven-member ad hoc commission.

After a six-week study, the commission concluded that the Democratic delegate selection process needed extensive democratization. Citing the decline of Democratic strength in recent elections, the increase in independent voters and a rising sense of political alienation among many voters, the commission recommended eliminating the party's archaic unit rule in 1968, followed by the establishment of a party commission to review existing state delegate selection plans and to implement further reform to open the process in 1972.

By a voice vote, the 1968 convention eliminated use of the unit rule. A Rules Committee minority report proposed many of the other reform recommendations of the Hughes commission. The minority report would have required that "all Democratic voters...[be given] full and timely opportunity to participate" in the 1972 nominating process. Included were specific recommendations that the unit rule be abolished at all levels of delegate selection and that the methods of delegate selection be "open to public participation" and held within the calendar year of the convention.

### Convention Actions

In a roll-call vote taken amidst considerable confusion on the floor, the minority report was adopted, 1,350 to 1,206—a major victory for party reformers. McCarthy supporters and former Kennedy supporters provided most of the votes for the minority report, but they also were joined by a number of Humphrey delegates.

The convention earlier had approved the Credentials Committee report, which called for a special commission to review state delegate selection rules and to assist state parties in enacting reforms. The recommendations of the special commission were to be reported to the 1972 convention. Taken together, the Rules and Credentials reports were viewed as a mandate to revamp the Democratic delegate selection process.

### McGovern-Fraser Commission

In February 1969, Oklahoma Sen. Fred R. Harris (D 1964-73), then chairman of the Democratic National Committee, announced the membership of the new delegate selection commission mandated by the 1968 convention. Formally named the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, it initially was headed by South Dakota Sen. George McGovern, and later, after McGovern announced his presidential candidacy, by Minnesota Rep. Donald M. Fraser.

The purpose of the McGovern-Fraser commission was to democratize the nominating process, removing control from party insiders and giving it to rank-and-file members. After a review of state delegate selection rules and several months of regional hearings, the commission adopted its final report in November 1969.

The report, entitled "Mandate for Reform," detailed



the unresponsiveness of the delegate selection processes operative in 1968. One of the commission's major findings was that delegates controlling about 860 votes—one-third of the convention total—had been selected under procedures that had begun before 1968. "This means," the report stated, "that the day Eugene McCarthy announced his candidacy (Nov. 30, 1967), nearly one-third of the delegates had in effect already been selected. And by the time Lyndon Johnson announced his intention not to seek another term (March 31, 1968), the formal delegate selection process had begun in all but 12 of the states. By the time the issues and candidates that characterized the politics of 1968 had clearly emerged, therefore, it was impossible for rank and file Democrats to influence the selection of these delegates."

The commission charged that delegate selection often was discriminatory and undemocratic as well as untimely. It found, for example, that imposition of the unit rule from the first to the final stage of the nominating process, enforcement of binding instructions on delegates, and favorite son candidacies were used to force Democrats to vote against their stated presidential preferences. Other abuses were uncovered, including secret caucuses, closed slate-making and widespread proxy voting. As a result, the commission learned, the composition of the 1968 Democratic convention bore scant resemblance to the composition of the party membership as a whole.

Blacks were estimated to comprise 11 per cent of the total population and an even larger share of the Democratic electorate, yet only 5.5 per cent of the delegates to the 1968 convention were black. Women comprised a majority of the voting-age population, yet just 13 per cent of the delegates to the 1968 convention were women, and only one of the 55 state and territorial delegations in 1968 had a woman chairman. Persons under 30 years old were also cited by the commission as a group under-represented at the 1968 convention. Only 4 per cent of the delegates were under 30, and a majority of the delegations did not have more than a single member that young.

On the other hand, Democratic public and party officials were well represented. More than 40 per cent of the Democratic members of Congress (125 of 308) were convention delegates in 1968, and all 110 members of the Democratic National Committee were automatically seated as delegates.

Additionally, delegates at the 1968 convention were considerably more affluent than the party membership in general. The commission found that 40 per cent of the delegates had annual incomes exceeding \$20,000, and only 13 per cent had incomes under \$10,000—yet 70 per cent of the national population was in the latter income group. The commission concluded that delegates to the 1968 convention were "in short, predominantly white, male, middle-aged, and at least middle-class."

In a summary statement, the McGovern-Fraser commission report stated that the way to party unity and electoral success was by inclusion of the alienated and under-represented: "We are concerned with the opportunity to participate rather than the actual level of participation.... We are less concerned with the product of the meetings than the process...."

"We believe that popular control of the Democratic Party is necessary for its survival...."

"If we are not an open party; if we do not represent the demands of change, then the danger is not that people will go to the Republican Party.... It is that they will turn to third and fourth party politics or the anti-politics of the street."

"We believe that our Guidelines offer an alternative for these people...."

"We are confident that party reform, dictated by our Party's heritage and principles, will insure a strong, winning and united party."

## The 18 Guidelines

To promote more equitable representation at future conventions, the commission proposed a set of 18 guidelines to be followed by the state parties. Fifteen of the guidelines were mandatory requirements, binding on the state parties, while the other three were voluntary. The entire set of guidelines was approved by the Democratic National Committee in February 1971.

Following are the major mandatory guidelines that the state parties were required to meet:

- Adopt explicit, written party rules governing delegate selection.

- Adopt procedural rules and safeguards that would forbid proxy voting, the unit rule and related practices such as instructing delegations.

- Seek as broad a base of support for the party as possible by implementing the anti-discrimination standards adopted by the national committee; and overcome the effects of past discrimination by taking affirmative measures to encourage the representation "of minority groups, young people and women in reasonable relationship to their presence in the population of the state."

- Make, where practicable, the following changes in delegate selection: conduct the entire process in the calendar year of the convention; prohibit the selection of automatic delegates; in convention systems, select no fewer than 75 per cent of the total delegation at a level no higher than the congressional district, and adopt an apportionment formula based on a combination of population and some standard measure of Democratic strength; designate the procedures by which slates are prepared and challenged; permit the state committee to select no more than 10 per cent of the delegation.

*The most controversial guideline dealt with the proportional inclusion of minority groups, youth and women. While the McGovern-Fraser guidelines specifically noted that "the mandatory imposition of quotas" was not intended, a ruling by National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien in late 1971 stated that a delegation that did not reasonably represent minorities, women and youth could be subject to challenge on grounds of noncompliance with the guidelines. The burden of proof regarding the composition of a delegation was placed on the state parties, and an implicit quota system was established.*

## The Impact on 1972

One of the most visible changes wrought by the McGovern-Fraser reforms was an increase in the number of presidential primaries. Several state party leaders saw the primary not only as a way of increasing popular participation in choosing delegates, but as a method that would produce a delegation less subject to challenge. Six states established primaries for the first time in 1972, bringing the number of primary states (and the District of Columbia) to 23. The growth of the primary enabled it to replace the convention system as the leading method of delegate selection. In 1968, 42 per cent of the Democratic delegates were elected in primary states; in 1972, 66 per cent were chosen that way.

The impact of the reforms was apparent to Sen. McGovern, who said in February 1972, before the first primary was held: "Under the old system, where national convention delegates were mainly chosen by party leaders, I would have had no chance. Ed Muskie would have the



nomination cinched by now." Through a series of primary victories and strong showings in the convention states, the South Dakota senator eliminated Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (Maine) from the race and went on to win the Democratic presidential nomination himself.

While the guidelines were implemented by the state parties, there was dissatisfaction among many party officials with the scope of the reforms. Alabama's anti-Wallace state chairman, Robert S. Vance, saw confusion as a result: "...the emphasis on minutiae in the Fraser-McGovern commission's provisions on delegate credentials will pave the way to disorder. These provisions set up a way to use trivia to undo delegate elections that conform with the major Fraser-McGovern guidelines."

## Challenges

Ultimately, 82 separate challenges were filed against 1,289 delegates, representing more than 40 per cent of the



*"Some have given it a B-plus, some have given it a B-minus, but it seems to pass."*

—Barbara Mikulski, Democratic commission chairwoman

convention. Unlike the 1964 and 1968 conventions, where the major challenges were based on civil rights, the 1972 challenges were based on various violations of the reform guidelines.

Public attention was focused on three major challenges: California, where the McGovern delegation elected in a winner-take-all primary was challenged on the grounds it violated a voluntary guideline urging proportional representation; Illinois, where Mayor Richard J. Daley's Chicago delegates were challenged principally on the issue of illegal slate-making, and South Carolina, where the challenge was based on the under-representation of women.

After the votes of the Credentials Committee went against them, both the McGovern and Daley forces made the unprecedented move of taking their cases outside traditional party channels and appealed the Credentials Committee rulings in Washington, D.C., federal district court. On July 8, however, two days before the start of the convention, the Supreme Court, by a 6-to-3 vote, decided to leave to the convention a final determination of the two cases.

Although the legal merits of the California, Illinois and South Carolina cases were considered on the convention floor, the final decisions ultimately were based on the political strength of McGovern versus that of his opponents. The McGovern delegation from California was seated, Daley's delegates were ousted and the women's challenge in South Carolina was rejected.

The effect of the McGovern-Fraser reforms was evident in the composition of the 1972 convention. Forty per cent of the delegates were women, 21 per cent were under 30 and 15 per cent were black. The reforms had succeeded in including previously under-represented groups—but at the expense of excluding the keystone of previous Democratic conventions, public and party officials.

According to a study by the Democratic National Committee, only 10 per cent of the delegates in 1972 were

"politicians," compared with 1964, when a survey by the Citizens' Research Foundation disclosed that 55 per cent of the Democratic delegates were party officials and 37 per cent were public officials. The national committee's study showed that delegates in 1972 came from diverse occupations: 22 per cent were employed in professional jobs, 14 per cent were union members, 13 per cent were housewives, 13 per cent were in business and 10 per cent were teachers.

The Rules Committee report approved by the 1972 convention called for a new commission to review the McGovern-Fraser guidelines, make needed revisions and implement, through monitoring and compliance review, the efforts of the states to take affirmative action for the "full participation of minorities, youth, and women" in selecting delegates for the 1976 convention. The Rules report also included several reform proposals to be included in the call to the 1976 convention and required the national committee to set aside 8 per cent of its gross annual income to defray the expenses of indigent delegates to the convention.

## 1976 Rules

Less than two months after the 1972 convention, Democratic National Chairman Jean Westwood appointed United Auto Workers Union President Leonard Woodcock to head the new Commission on Delegate Selection. With Woodcock's resignation in January 1973, the chairmanship went to Baltimore City Councilwoman Barbara Mikulski.

After the 1972 campaign, there was general agreement in the party that some changes had to be made in the guidelines, particularly relating to quotas and proportional representation. Even McGovern viewed modifications as necessary. In April 1973, he acknowledged that while the reforms "did not fail," they were "an innovation, a voyage on an uncharted sea—and they can be improved."

The Mikulski commission, expanded to 73 members, agreed on new delegate selection rules in October 1973. In explaining the new rules in January 1974, Mikulski said she felt that while they might not be perfect, they were quite workable: "Some have given it a B-plus, some have given it a B-minus, but it seems to pass." By a voice vote, the national committee approved the new rules in March 1974.

The Mikulski commission drafted 20 rules, many of them the same as the McGovern-Fraser guidelines, or slight modifications. There were important changes, however, designed to lessen credentials fights over the composition of delegations and to implement proportional representation. Following are major changes in the Democrats' delegate selection rules that were to be in effect in 1976:

- No quotas—States were required to establish affirmative action programs that would "encourage full participation" by all Democrats. Special efforts must be made to include minority groups, native Americans, women and youth "as indicated by their presence in the Democratic electorate." But mandatory quotas would not be enforced. Any state that had implemented an acceptable affirmative action program could not be challenged on the basis of composition alone. Unlike 1972, the burden of proof in such a situation was shifted from the state party to the challenging group.

- Proportional representation—There must be fair reflection of voters' presidential preferences—for all candidates who receive at least 15 per cent of the vote—at all levels of delegate selection. On the related issue of apportionment, at least 75 per cent of a state's delegation, in both primary and convention states, must be selected in units no larger than a congressional district. Abolished were statewide, winner-take-all primaries, such as the one in California that was the subject of the 1972 credentials challenge.



• **Democrats only**—The new rules required that all feasible steps be taken to restrict the delegate selection process to Democratic voters only. Outlawed by this rule was cross-over voting in primaries, such as that allowed in Wisconsin.

• **Candidates for delegate and presidential preference**—A presidential candidate has the right to approve all delegate candidates who desire to run identified with that person's presidential candidacy. No delegate at any level of the selection process can be forced to vote against his presidential preference. All candidates for delegate throughout the process must either identify a presidential preference or run as uncommitted.

This rule presented a particular problem for New York, which has a state law preventing the identification on the primary ballot of the names of delegates with their presidential preference. As an alternative, the new rule required a state party to undertake an extensive publicity effort to inform Democratic voters of the presidential preference of all candidates for delegate.

### **Compliance Review Commission**

With the approval of its report, the Mikulski commission ceased operations. But the new rules provided for the creation of a 25-member Compliance Review Commission to review and monitor the implementation of state affirmative action and delegate selection plans.

The March 1974 meeting of the national committee, which approved the 1976 delegate selection rules, also established the Compliance Review Commission. On the recommendation of National Chairman Robert S. Strauss, former New York City Mayor Robert F. Wagner was named chairman of the commission.

Dissatisfaction with the new review commission was expressed by leaders of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE), which saw the commission as an outgrowth of the Westwood-organized Mikulski commission and a continuation of "new politics" domination of national party policy. COPE leaders called for the expansion of the review commission with larger labor representation. An aide to Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace on the Democratic executive committee, Michael G. Griffin, also expressed concern with the review commission. He saw it as "a Frankenstein, a Washington-based...commission that has the power to go into your state and disband the group elected by the people."

Unlike the McGovern-Fraser commission, however, the Compliance Review Commission has not seen its role as a policy-making body and has allowed the states a degree of flexibility in the submission and implementation of their affirmative action and delegate selection plans.

To be acceptable, an affirmative action plan is required to show a state party's detailed programs for publicity, education and organization to ensure that all segments of the Democratic electorate, particularly the under-represented, are made aware of the delegate selection process in their state. Plans were due in March 1975, but each state was required to release its plan at least 30 days before submission to the commission so that it could be reviewed and, if necessary, challenged by individuals and groups within the state.

Upon submission to the review commission, the plans were sent to a seven-member Legal Advisory Council, an adjunct of the commission, headed by Washington, D.C., attorney Walter Pozen. The council reviewed the plans and provided the commission with an opinion as to their compliance or non-compliance with the rules. Meeting about once a month, the full commission then considered the plans, with 13 votes needed for approval.

As of July 15, the deadline for implementation by all states of their affirmative action programs, only 15 states and the District of Columbia had their plans approved. But the review commission was not worried about ultimate compliance. Only Guam and the Virgin Islands had not yet submitted their plans, and the other states were in the process of correcting their initial plans to bring them into compliance.

Because of the new proportional representation requirement, many states have experienced difficulties in devising their delegate selection plans. The original deadline for submitting plans to the review commission was July 1, but the Democratic Executive Committee extended it to Aug. 15 for states having difficulty.

The review process is the same as that followed for affirmative action plans, with a 30-day trial period in the state, review by the Legal Advisory Council and final consideration by the review commission. After a plan is submitted, the commission has 60 days to consider it. If the Aug. 15 deadline were not extended, the commission should have ruled on all delegate selection plans by Nov. 1. However, allowing further time for the correction of plans that were in non-compliance, it probably would be the end of 1975 before all state plans were finally approved, Democratic officials said.

One of the main areas of debate in future months will be the delegate selection primary. Also known as the Rule 11-4 or "loophole" primary, it allows the election of convention delegates in congressional districts without proportional representation—in effect permitting winner-take-all within a congressional district. At the insistence of states which found this type of primary easier to implement and offering more political advantages than any other method, it was permitted by the Mikulski commission and will be used in seven of the 10 largest states in 1976: California, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Texas.

However, challenges to delegate selection primaries are expected. The Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) at its 1975 board meeting went on record against this type of primary, and ADA is offering technical assistance to Democrats who wish to challenge it in various states.

After it completes review and implementation of the state affirmative action and delegate selection plans, the future role of the commission will not be clearly defined. The October meeting of the national committee will discuss whether the commission should act as a preliminary credentials committee. (See p. 17 report on Oct. meeting.)

At a conference in Kansas City, Mo., in December 1974, the Democrats adopted their first party charter. Debate at the conference centered on the affirmative action section; the use of quotas in delegate selection was the overriding issue. Blacks and their liberal allies saw the issue as affirming their power in the party and as a commitment for equality for minority groups. Some labor leaders and traditional liberals viewed it as a mechanism to freeze quotas into the workings of the party and to limit their own influence. What finally resulted was a compromise that banned mandatory quotas but deleted language that would have made it more difficult for blacks, women and other minority groups to challenge party delegations that they considered unrepresentative.

Elements of organized labor were particularly unhappy with the compromise, feeling that implicit quotas had been solidified in the charter. Rep. David R. Obey of Wisconsin, an opponent of quotas, commented: "The test of the language is going to be how reasonable people are. If the language really means we can have affirmative action without quotas, it will work. If some people try to slide off of it and say only mandatory quotas are banned, then there



will be real trouble for the party."

The affirmative action section of the charter will be in effect in 1976, but does not contain language that differs with the delegate selection rules approved by the national committee. But the charter does require, after 1976, the creation of a Judicial Council that will assume the function of the Compliance Review Commission to review and approve state delegate selection plans.

## Republican Reforms

The Republican Party has not experienced the widespread demand for delegate selection reform that engulfed the Democratic Party in 1968. The activist, alienated groups to which the Democratic reforms were meant to appeal have never been an integral part of the Republican constituency. Republican liberals, whose Democratic counterparts were the vanguard of that party's reform movement, have been a definite minority in the national Republican Party in the past decade.

In addition, many Republican leaders believe that broad reforms are unnecessary. For example, the Republican Party has never recognized the unit rule as a key point of contention, as have the Democrats. The feeling that massive reforms are not needed was expressed in December 1971 by Anne Armstrong, then cochairman of the Republican National Committee: "Many of the reforms the Democrats are just now getting around to discussing were accomplished without fanfare years ago by our own party." The major Republican battleground in the 1970s has been the party's delegate apportionment formula, not delegate selection.

### Ginn Committee

Since 1968, the Republican Party has established two different reform committees designed in part to encourage increased participation in choosing convention delegates. The first committee was an outgrowth of the 1968 convention, in which 17 per cent of the delegates were women, 2 per cent were black and 1 per cent was under 30. The convention passed a rule empowering the Republican National Committee to establish the Delegates and Organizations Committee, with one of its principal functions to review delegate selection rules and implement an anti-discrimination resolution adopted by the convention.

Rosemary Ginn, national committeewoman from Missouri, headed the new committee. In June 1971 it issued its report, recommending 10 rules changes concerning delegate selection. Some of the changes were similar to the Democratic guidelines, urging that there be publicity about the delegate selection process by the state parties, encouragement of open participation and no automatic delegates, no proxies and no delegate fees.

Two other recommended rules, though, stirred more controversy. One suggested, but did not require, that men and women be equally represented on each state delegation. The other proposed that persons under 25 be represented on each delegation proportionally to their voting strength in the state.

Unlike the Democratic Party, in which delegate selection rules have gone into effect on approval of the national committee, rules changes in the Republican Party must go through a multi-tiered process. Party rules, which include a section on delegate selection, are approved every four years by the national convention. Rule changes require the approval of the Rules Committee of the national committee, the entire national committee, the Rules Committee of the convention and finally the convention itself before they go into effect. Thus the recommendations of the Ginn committee could not become operative until approved by the 1972 convention.

All but one of the proposals became part of the 1972 rules. Eliminated was the call for proportional representation of young people, which was labeled by some of its critics as "McGovernization" of Republican delegate selection.

While the anti-discrimination rule passed by the 1968 Republican convention and operative during the 1972 delegate selection process was not stringent, it did help bring an increase in the proportion of women, youth and black delegates. A survey of all but five delegations showed that 30 per cent of the Republican delegates in 1972 were women, 9 per cent were young and 4 per cent were black.

### Rule 29 Committee

Rule 29(b) of the rules adopted by the 1972 convention called for the Republican National Committee to create a new committee to study the party rules and to report its findings to the national committee by Jan. 1, 1975. The purpose of the rule was to further open participation in the delegate selection process by women, youth, racial minorities, ethnic groups and the elderly. In January 1973, Republican National Chairman George Bush appointed Wisconsin Rep. William A. Steiger to head the Rule 29 Committee.

The 57-member committee was divided into five subcommittees, with one, headed by former National Chairman Ray C. Bliss, authorized to review the party's delegate selection rules. Interest was chiefly in Rule 32, which required the state parties to take "positive action" to include broad participation by women, youth, minorities, ethnics and the elderly in delegate selection. No quotas were intended by positive action.

In its report to the national committee, the full Steiger committee made recommendations for implementing Rule 32 in 1976. The state parties would be required to establish broadly representative Rule 29 committees and to extensively publicize the details of the state's delegate selection process. Special emphasis would be made in attracting women, youth, minorities, ethnics and the elderly. By Feb. 1, 1976, the state parties would file examples of their positive action programs with the national committee—programs subject to review and comment. The Rule 29 Committee declined to make failure to comply with its recommendations grounds for challenge of a state delegation.

The committee's proposals were considered at a national committee meeting in March. Debate was mainly on the section allowing the national committee to review and comment on a state's positive action plan. Conservatives, led by Mississippi Chairman Clarke Reed, were upset with the provision and fought for its deletion. Claiming that it resembled the Democrats' quota system, Reed commented: "We're emulating the majority party on the very thing that took it down to defeat." Iowa Chairman John C. McDonald countered that the provision was reasonable: "We must be the party of the wide-open door. Being secure in our knowledge that we're open isn't enough."

By a vote of 75 to 74, the national committee voted to delete the provision. In its revised form, the Steiger committee's interpretation of Rule 32 allows the national committee to review and comment on a state positive action program only at the request of the state. Steiger voiced satisfaction with the report as modified, because, he said, it "still embodies the spirit of what we were trying to do." Bobbie Kilberg, a women's rights leader from Massachusetts and a member of the Rule 29 Committee, disagreed. "There is a bottom line of compromise and this falls totally below that line," she said. ■■



*"If we can't enforce the law on our elected officials,*

*it's very difficult for elected officials to enforce laws."*

# MAKING THE SYSTEM WORK

It wasn't much as news: the City Hall's little basement "cafeteria" — possibly the least elegant dining spot in St. Louis — had been operated for years without the required written contract.

Not in strict conformity with the law, maybe, but penny-ante stuff as far as graft is concerned.

It might have been a 24-hour story except that Alderman Bruce Sommer, who dug it up, tried to get John Poelker, former city comptroller and present mayor, and John Bass, present comptroller, prosecuted for misdemeanors. He'd like to have got charges filed against former Mayor Alfonso J. Cervantes, too, but the one-year statute of limitations on misdemeanors ruled that out, because Cervantes has been out of office more than a year.

Sommer went to Tom Shannon, the prosecuting attorney, but Shannon knows how the game is played, and refused to bring charges.

Now Sommer is preparing to take his complaints to Circuit Attorney Brendan Ryan.

If this is the New Politics, the old-timers around City Hall not only don't like it, they find it somewhat ridiculous. A little hole-in-the-wall lunch counter down in the catacombs — no written contract? What's the fuss about? Who wants it, anyhow?

Sommer, nominally a Democrat but as strange and exotic to the ward-heeling veterans as if he's been dropped from the moon, retorts that the law is the law. The cafeteria operator had had no written contract for about 20 years, and the rate he was paying the city for occupying his cave-like business premises was \$75 — unchanged for 24 years.

The only thing the city had required of him had been some public liability insurance, Sommer said. He bought it — from A. J. Cervantes when he was president of the Board of Aldermen.

Former Alderman John Roach, who fought the regular Democrats to get elected but later made peace and is now head of the Community Development Agency, is one of Sommer's critics. He bases his argument not on the old-liner's contention that favors are meant to be done and nobody cares about the fine print, but on a more respectable theory of representative government.

"This is a political system in which people elected to office are held accountable," Roach said recently. "We have to wait for the judgment of the electorate. When we substitute the courts for the judgment of the people who vote, we are making a mistake.

"This is not the kind of thing to go running to the prosecuting attorney with. We should use the courts only in the most serious situations."

Sommer's position, on the other hand, is that law-

breaking is lawbreaking, and the place to be held accountable for that is the courts.

"If we can't enforce the law on our elected officials it's very difficult for elected officials to enforce laws," he says.

Roach's approach, he added, assumes "the system works." Sommer, no doubt thinking of the St. Louis electorate's selection of public officials in past years, makes no such assumption.

Sommer has another complaint pending, this one against License Collector Benjamin Goins, successor to the late master of patronage, "Juggy" Hayden.

Sommer has sought a charge of willful neglect of official duties against Goins, whose patronage-laden office has sold only about 3,000 business licenses in the city as of June, when the state had listed more than 9,000 businesses in its sales tax division files.

In other areas of the state, Sommer said, local business license listings totaled 80 per cent or more of sales tax numbers on file with the state. The cities have the author-

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*As FOCUS/Midwest goes to press Alderman Bruce T. Sommer charged in a lawsuit that St. Louis had manipulated a state law allowing municipalities to grant tax relief for developers in so-called blighted areas. He said the manipulation was in violation of the Missouri Constitution.*

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ity to check state files to spot more local businesses, Sommer said, but Goins never had done so.

Sommer also cited figures to show that St. Louis County's license collection procedures produce more results with fewer workers — workers who happen to be civil service employees.

Once again, Shannon refused to take any action.

Right now, State Auditor George Lehr is auditing all the city's books, including the license collector's, and Sommer is awaiting the results before making any more moves.

But he would like to get further into the subject, because "Goins openly and honestly defends the patronage system, and he is the best example of what is wrong with it."

Meanwhile, Sommer is doing his best to point out what's wrong at City Hall. If his discoveries of greasy-spoon contracts and uncollected license fees are not exactly Watergates, they at least may have a cumulative effect. And if his efforts to attack the problems through the courts are ignored by politically-oriented prosecutors, there's always the chance the voters may decide to change things.

And that's called making the system work. ■■

# MOOD OF DETENTE MARKS DEMOCRATIC MEETING

The Democratic Party convened in optimism and relative peace Oct. 14, still arguing with itself but comforted by the thought that it might somehow elect a president in 1976.

Meeting at Washington's Statler Hilton Hotel, the Democrats formalized their choice of officers for the 1976 convention, and amended the rules under which the convention will be held. All the decisions were clearly under the control of party chairman Robert S. Strauss.

With Strauss in the chair, the Democrats changed their convention rules to make credentials challenges more difficult and to reduce the number of fights over planks in the platform. All these actions had their dissenters, and some people were angry. But the dissidents were so clearly a minority that the proceedings of the day were relatively quiet.

## Disappointed Activists

For some of those on the party's left, however, even the scent of victory was not enough to soften a feeling of betrayal. Among the angriest dissidents was Billie Carr, national committeewoman from Texas. "I feel like everything we achieved for reform in 1972 is being eroded slowly but surely," Carr said, "by Strauss and his staff. It really goes against all the reform principles that we believe in."

Carr and other party activists, particularly blacks and females, said Strauss is reneging on the party's commitment to proportional representation at all levels of the delegate selection process. They also think minorities will be prevented from speaking their piece on the convention floor by rules raising the minimum number of delegates required to bring up a minority report.

At the same time, however, many of the pro-reform and pro-McGovern leaders of 1972 were in a more conciliatory mood. Jean Westwood of Utah, chosen Democratic national chairman by McGovern in 1972, said she was inclined to cooperate wherever possible with Strauss' efforts.

What did emerge as a topic of discussion was the performance of Strauss, who managed to dodge each potentially serious conflict, keeping his critics off balance and winning on virtually every point he chose to contest. "We've broken the pattern of not communicating with each other," he said triumphantly after he had gaveled the meeting to a close.

Those critical of Strauss said the results of the meeting were less a reflection of his personal point of view than of his desire to roll with the party consensus.



Robert S. Strauss

## Minority Reports

In its most significant action, the executive committee proposed that no minority report from the credentials, rules or platform committees may reach the convention floor in 1976 without the signatures of 25 per cent of the committee members.

The 25 per cent figure was opposed by party reformers, who favored a lower 10 per cent figure used at previous Democratic conventions. They argued that the larger percentage proposed by the executive committee would stifle the presentation of minority views.

## Fewer Challenges

The delegate challenge system approved by the executive committee ran into minimal opposition before the full committee.

Under the new rules, the numerical composition of a delegation will not in itself be grounds for challenge. A delegation that underrepresents a particular ethnic or interest group will still be eligible for seating, if the state has complied with delegate selection guidelines. The only basis for challenge will be a party's violation of state delegate selection or affirmative action rules, or failure of a state to have an approved delegate selection or affirmative action plan.

The new rules require challenges to be lodged within 10 days of the occurrence of the alleged violation, and to be brought by at least 15 Democrats who can claim that their rights to participate were "personally injured." The chairman of the convention credentials committee, Sen. Alan Cranston of California, will have the authority to dismiss challenges he considers groundless.

The party's Compliance Review Commission will have jurisdiction over all affirmative action challenges based on violations alleged to occur 30 days or more before a state's primary or initial caucus. All later challenges will be handled by the convention credentials committee. It will mark the first time in party history that credentials challenges can be filed before delegates are selected.

## Censure Threat

The only semblance of a fight during the meeting came when the party's black caucus, representing about 10 per cent of the total committee membership, threatened to bring a censure motion against Strauss. They were angry about a Strauss memo, released Oct. 2, in which he said he had not consulted with any constituency in the party about the choice of convention officers because such a procedure would have resulted in "the lowest common denominator."

The blacks were dissuaded, however, after Strauss met with them, apologized for the language and promised to increase black participation in the national committee.

Strauss was less successful in blunting the criticism of the New Democratic Coalition (NDC), a reform group claiming 75,000 members and headed by Bernard Sorokin of Connecticut. In a press conference Oct. 15, Sorokin said the NDC would file a court suit against Strauss on the grounds that he has violated the reform mandate of the 1972 convention.

The reformers were particularly upset about rules under which 15 states will hold "winner-take-all" presidential primaries on a congressional district basis in 1976. Sorokin feels any use of winner-take-all, even at the congressional district level, violates the mandate of the 1972 convention to switch to proportional representation at every stage of the pre-convention process.



# SENATE

**HR 1589. Food Stamp Program.** Passage of the bill to prevent Agriculture Department regulations which would require families to pay more for food stamps beginning March 1, 1975, from taking effect before Dec. 30, 1975. Passed (thus cleared for the President) 76-8: R 28-6; D 48-2 (ND 34-0; SD 14-2), Feb. 5, 1975. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**S Res 4. Amend Cloture Rule.** Mondale (D Minn.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Mansfield (D Mont.) point of order against a motion by Pearson (R Kan.) that the Senate, by a majority vote, could decide whether to bring up for consideration S Res 4 easing the requirements for cloture (permitting a filibuster to be shut off by a vote of three-fifths of members present and voting rather than a two-thirds vote as required under Senate Rule 22). Motion to table agreed to 51-42: R 13-22; D 38-20 (ND 35-5; SD 3-15), Feb. 15, 1975. (The effect of the vote was to have the Senate approve the ruling of the Vice President - the presiding officer - that a majority vote could end a filibuster against changing the rules of the Senate. Subsequently, however, the Vice President issued a ruling on the parliamentary situation that allowed a filibuster against the Pearson motion to continue thus, Reformers lost a chance to modify the filibuster.)

**S 7. Strip Mining.** Passage of the bill to provide minimum federal standards for the regulation of surface mining and the reclamation of strip-mined lands. Passed 84-13: R

26-10; D 58-3 (ND 43-0; SD 15-3), March 12, 1975.

**HR 4592. Foreign Aid Appropriations.** Passage of the bill making appropriations of \$3,945,346,982 for foreign economic and military assistance for fiscal year 1975. Passed 57-40: R 18-19; D 39-21 (ND 29-13; SD 10-8), March 19, 1975. The President had requested \$5,946,460,909.

**HR 2166. Tax Reductions.** Passage of the bill to cut federal taxes by \$30.4-billion, to increase corporate taxes by \$3.7-billion through repeal of the oil and gas depletion allowance and tightening of the tax treatment on foreign income, and to provide a \$100 payment to each recipient of Social Security and certain other federal benefits. Passed 60-29: R 14-19; D 46-10 (ND 39-1; SD 7-9), March 22, 1975.

**HR 2166. Tax Reductions.** Adoption of the conference report on the bill to provide \$8.1-billion in 1974 individual income tax rebates, cut 1975 federal taxes by \$10-billion for individuals and \$4.8-billion for businesses, repeal the percentage depletion allowance for major oil companies and limit credits for each oil-related taxes, and provide a \$50 bonus payment to each recipient of Social Security, railroad retirement and supplemental security income (SSI) benefits. Adopted 45-16: R 11-14; D 34-2 (ND 29-0; SD 5-2), March 26, 1975.

**S 66. Health Services Programs.** Javits (R N.Y.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Bartlett (R Okla.) amendment to bar use of funds under the Social Security Act (covering the Medicaid program for the poor) to pay for or encourage abortions, except to save the life of the mother. Motion to table agreed to 54-36: R 16-19; D 38-17 (ND 30-8; SD 8-9), April 10, 1975.

**S 66. Health Services Programs.** Passage of the bill to authorize \$654-million in fiscal 1975-77 for nurse training programs and \$1.9-billion in fiscal 1975-76 for health services programs, including formula grants to the states, family planning, community mental health center, migrant health centers and community health centers for the medically underserved. Passed 77-14: R 25-10; 52-4 (ND 38-1; SD 14-3), April 10, 1975.

**HR 4485. Emergency Housing Assistance.** Passage of the bill (as amended by the provisions of S 1483) to provide temporary subsidies for purchase of homes by middle-income families, to provide federal loans to jobless homeowners unable to meet mortgage payments and to authorize a federal program of mortgage credit assistance during periods when production of new housing fell below certain levels. Passed 64-26: R 12-22; D 52-4 (ND 36-3; SD 16-1), April 24, 1975.

**HR 4481. Emergency Jobs Appropriations.** Passage of the bill to make emergency fiscal 1975 appropriations of \$6,082,647,000 for several federal departments and agencies to stimulate the creation of jobs and to aid the depressed auto and construction industries. Passed 53-14: R 12-11; D 41-3 (ND 30-1; SD 11-2), April 25, 1975. The President had requested \$2,042,700,000.

**HR 6096. South Vietnam Assistance.** Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize funds for humanitarian assistance and evacuation programs in South Vietnam and to authorize the President to use U.S. troops if necessary for the evacuation of U.S. citizens and Vietnamese. Adopted

46-17: R 15-5; D 31-12 (ND 19-12; SD 12-0), April 25, 1975. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**S 409. Wage-Price Council.** Stevenson (D Ill.) amendment to give the Council on Wage and Price Stability authority to require and subpoena records on prices, wages, costs, profits and other information, including information for each product line manufactured or sold by a company. Adopted 49-39: R 6-28; D 43-11 (ND 36-2; SD 7-9), May 6, 1975.

**S 200. Agency for Consumer Advocacy.** Ribicoff (D Conn.) motion to close further debate - thus ending a filibuster - on the bill. Adopted 71-27: R 19-19; D 52-8 (ND 42-1; SD 10-7), May 13, 1975. A three fifths majority of the entire Senate membership (60 in this case) is required to invoke cloture.

**S 200. Agency for Consumer Advocacy.** Ribicoff (D Conn.) motion to table the McClure (R Idaho) amendment to prohibit the Consumer Advocacy Agency from intervening in federal proceedings with the intention of limiting the sale, manufacture or possession of firearms or ammunition. Rejected 27-67: R 8-29; D 19-38 (ND 19-20; SD 0-18), May 14, 1975. (The McClure amendment was subsequently adopted by voice vote.)

**S 200. Agency for Consumer Advocacy.** Dole (R Kan.) amendment to prevent the ACA from intervening in federal proceedings directly affecting producers of livestock, poultry or agricultural commodities. Adopted 55-34: R 22-13; D 33-21 (ND 18-18; SD 15-3), May 15, 1975.

**S 200. Agency for Consumer Advocacy.** Passage of the bill to set up an independent Agency for Consumer Advocacy (ACA) to represent consumer interests before other federal agencies and courts, and to gather and disseminate consumer information. Passed 61-28: R 19-17; D 42-11 (ND 34-2; SD 8-9), May 15, 1975.

**S 1730. Emergency Rail Aid to Employment and Equipment.** Passage of the bill to authorize \$700-million in grants and \$100-million in federally guaranteed loans to provide for jobs and equipment to improve and rehabilitate the nation's railroads. Passed 67-10: R 25-7; D 42-3 (ND 31-1; SD 11-2), May 16, 1975.

**S 920. Symington DOD Deletion Amendment.** Symington (D Mo.) amendment to delete \$1.2-billion in fiscal 1976 authorizations from the over-all \$25-billion authorization approved by the Armed Services Committee. Rejected 36-59: R 6-31; D 30-28 (ND 30-10; SD 0-18), June 4, 1975. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**S 920. Defense Manpower Reduction.** Proxmire (D Wis.) amendment to reduce by 17,000 the 962,000 Pentagon civilian manpower ceiling approved by the Armed Services Committee for fiscal 1976. Adopted 42-40: R 15-18; D 27-22 (ND 21-14; SD 6-8), June 4, 1975.

**S 920. Eagleton DOD Deletion Amendment.** Eagleton (D Mo.) amendment to prohibit the expenditure of a \$490.5-million authorization in the bill for fiscal 1976 and the three-month transition period for procurement of airborne warning and control system (AWACS) designed to protect Europe until NATO contractual agreements were reached on the purchase of additional AWACS systems. Rejected 38-58: R 8-30; D

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30-28 (ND 29-13; SD 1-15), June 5, 1975. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**S 920. B-1 Elimination Proposed.** McGovern (D S.D.) amendment to eliminate \$840.5-million in the bill for continued development of the B-1 strategic bomber. Rejected 32-57: R 6-31; D 26-26 (ND 25-12; SD 1-14), June 5, 1975. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**S 920. Minuteman III Reduction Amendment.** Kennedy (D Mass.) amendment to eliminate \$203.1-million in the bill for the procurement of 50 Minuteman III ballistic missiles. Rejected 27-56: R 4-30; D 23-26 (ND 22-13; SD 1-13), June 5, 1975. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**S 1662. Food Stamps.** Dole (R Kan.) amendment to provide for immediate temporary certification of food stamp applicants, with penalties for fraud, and to set other standards for speedy processing of food stamp applications. Adopted 61-35: R 16-21; D 45-14 (ND 39-4; SD 6-10), June 10, 1975. (The bill to extend for one year the eligibility of supplemental security income (SSI) recipients to receive food stamps was subsequently passed by voice vote.)

**HR 4485. Emergency Housing Assistance.** Adoption of the conference report on the bill to provide temporary subsidies for purchases of homes by middle-income families and to provide federal loans to unemployed homeowners unable to meet mortgage payments. Adopted (and thus cleared for the President) 72-24: R 14-22; D 58-2 (ND 43-0; SD 15-2), June 11, 1975.

**S 6. Education for the Handicapped.** Passage of the bill to authorize \$6-billion in fiscal 1976-79 for grants to the states to provide free public educations to handicapped children. Passed 83-10: R 24-10; D 59-0 (ND 41-0; SD 18-0), June 18, 1975.

**HR 6900. Emergency Jobless Compensation.** Passage of the bill to extend the authority and the duration of emergency unemployment compensation benefits and special unemployment benefits for uncovered workers through Dec. 31, 1976, and to modify a provision of the tax cut bill (PL 94-12) that allowed a 5 per cent tax credit for the purchase of certain residences. Passed 70-3: R 24-3; D 46-0 (ND 30-0; SD 16-0), June 20, 1975.

**HR 4222. Child Nutrition Programs.** McGovern (D S.D.) amendment to increase by 25 per cent the income eligibility level for reduced-price lunches and to require schools to offer the reduced-price lunch program. Rejected 29-61: R 8-30; D 21-31 (ND 19-17; SD 2-14), July 10, 1975.

**HR 4222. Child Nutrition Programs.** Passage of the bill to amend and extend various child nutrition programs. Passed 81-8: R 29-8; D 52-0 (ND 36-0; SD 16-0), July 10, 1975.

**HR 5901. Education Appropriations, Fiscal 1976. Sex Integration.** Brooke (R Mass.) motion that the Senate insist on its amendment to delete from the education appropriations bill a House-passed amendment that would prohibit the Department of Health, Education and Welfare from requiring schools to integrate by sex their physical education classes and from requiring professional and honorary fraternities and sororities to integrate their membership by sex. Motion agreed to 65-29: R 23-13; D 42-16 (ND 39-3; SD 3-13), July 17, 1975.

**HR 6674. Military Procurement Authorization.** Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize \$31,120,000,000 for weapons procurement in fiscal 1976 and the three-month transition period. Rejected 42-48: R 21-12; D 21-36 (ND 11-29; SD 10-7), Aug. 1, 1975.

**HR 6674. Military Procurement Authorization.** Mansfield (D Mont.) motion to table Muskie (D Maine) motion to reconsider the vote by which the conference report on the bill was rejected. Motion to table agreed to 47-41: R 12-19; D 35-22 (ND 28-12; SD 7-10), Aug. 1, 1975. (The effect of the Mansfield motion was to kill the conference report on the bill in its present form.)

**HR 8121. Anti-Busing Motion Tabled.** State, Justice, Commerce Appropriations, Fiscal 1976. Pastore (D R.I.) motion to table Dole (R Kan.) amendment to prohibit the Justice Department from using any funds in the bill to intervene in any court suit that sought to require a school district to remedy racial segregation through forced busing, forced school closings or forced student transfers. Motion agreed to 42-35: R 15-18; D 27-17 (ND 27-4; SD 0-13), Sept. 3, 1975.

**S 1281. "Redlining" Disclosure.** Proxmire (D Wis.) amendment, to the Stone (D Fla.) amendment, to allow lenders in suburban areas and in cities of less than 350,000 population to disclose the amounts of mortgage money they made available within zip code areas instead of smaller tract areas used by the Census Bureau for statistical purposes. (The Stone amendment would require all lenders to disclose mortgage lending amounts by zip code areas.) Rejected 36-49: R 9-27; D 27-22 (ND 27-7; SD 0-15), Sept. 4, 1975. (The Senate subsequently adopted the Stone amendment by voice vote.)

**S 1281. "Redlining" Disclosure.** Garn (R Utah) amendment, in the nature of a substitute bill, to limit mortgage lending disclosure to lenders in 27 cities selected by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board for a three-year demonstration survey. Rejected 40-41: R 26-9; D 14-32 (ND 2-31; SD 12-1), Sept. 4, 1975.

**S 1281. "Redlining" Disclosure.** Passage of the bill to require lenders in 265 metropolitan areas to disclose the amount of mortgage money they lend for a three-year period after enactment within each zip code area in a city. Passed 45-37: R 11-24; D 34-13 (ND 32-2; SD 2-11), Sept. 4, 1975.

**S 963. Cancer-Related Feed. DES Control.** Hart (D Colo.) amendment, in the nature of a substitute to the Curtis (R Neb.) amendment, to suspend the use of the drug diethylstilbestrol (DES) for livestock intended for human consumption until the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) determined that such use was not a health hazard. (The Curtis amendment would have allowed continued use of DES for livestock while research on its health effects was underway.) Adopted 54-35: R 15-21; D 39-14 (ND 34-5; SD 5-9), Sept. 9, 1975. (The Curtis amendment, as amended, subsequently was adopted by voice vote.)

**S 963. Cancer-Related Feed. DES Control.** Bellmon (R Okla.) amendment to allow residues of cancer-related feed additives to remain in food for human consumption if the levels present in the food did not pose

a health threat. Rejected 28-61: R 18-18; D 10-43 (ND 2-37; SD 8-6), Sept. 9, 1975.

**S963. Cancer-Related Feed. DES Control.** Passage of the bill to suspend the use of the drug diethylstilbestrol (DES), for livestock intended for human consumption, to tighten controls on prescription drugs containing DES and to establish the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) as a formal legal entity within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). Passed 61-29: R 17-19; D 44-10 (ND 36-3; SD 8-7), Sept. 9, 1975.

**HR 8069. Ban on Race Classification Tabled.** Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1976. Brooke (R Mass.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Helms (R.N.C.) amendment to prohibit the Department of Health, Education and Welfare from withholding federal funds from a school district in order to compel the district to classify or assign teachers or students to schools and classes on the basis of race or national origin or to maintain records pertaining to students' race and national origin. Motion to table agreed to 48-43: R 15-20; D 33-23 (ND 33-5; SD 0-18), Sept. 17, 1975.

**HR 8069. No Funds for Integration.** Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1976. Biden (D Del.) amendment to provide that, except when ordered by a federal court, no funds in the bill could be used to require any school district to assign teachers or students to schools or classes on the basis of race. Adopted 50-43: R 20-15; D 30-28 (ND 14-26; SD 16-2), Sept. 17, 1975.

**HR 8069. Labor-HEW Appropriations, incl. Ban of Forced Bussing.** Fiscal 1976. Passage of the bill to make fiscal 1976 appropriations of \$36,272,522,318 for the Department of Labor, the health and welfare portions of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and related agencies and to prohibit HEW from using any funds in the bill to require a school district to bus its students. Passed 60-18: R 16-13; D 44-5 (ND 35-1; SD 9-4), Sept. 26, 1975.

COMING UP  
1975  
State Voting Records

FOR  
Illinois  
and  
Missouri

Covers all  
State Legislators



# 1975 U.S. HOUSE VOTES

REPRESENTATIVES	HR 1589	HR 1767	<sup>a</sup> HR 2166	<sup>b</sup> HR 2166	<sup>a</sup> HR 4481	HR 4592	<sup>a</sup> HR 25	<sup>a</sup> HR 4485	<sup>b</sup> HR 4485	<sup>c</sup> HR 2166	HR 3922	H J Res 148	HR 5398	HR 46	HR 4222	HR 6096	<sup>b</sup> HR 25	HR 6209	HR 6755	<sup>b</sup> HR 4481	HR 5247	HR 6674	<sup>c</sup> HR 25	<sup>a</sup> HR 6219	<sup>b</sup> HR 6219	<sup>c</sup> HR 6219
<b>ILLINOIS</b>																										
Metcalf (D-1)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Murphy (D-2)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Russo (D-3)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	N	Y	=	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Derwinski (R-4)	?	?	N	N	N	N	N	X	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Fary (5)																										
Hyde (R-6)	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Collins (D-7)	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	=	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	P	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Rostenkowski (D-8)	?	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	N	X	X
Yates (D-9)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Mikva (D-10)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	+	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Annunzio (D-11)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	=	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	+	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Crane (R-12)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	X	?	N	N	N	N	N	?	?	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
McClory (R-13)	?	X	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Erlenborn (R-14)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	X	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Hall (D-15)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Anderson (R-16)	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
O'Brien (R-17)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
Michel (R-18)	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Railsback (R-19)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
Findley (R-20)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	N	N	?	?
Madigan (R-21)	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	N
Shipley (D-22)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	X	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Price (D-23)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	=	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	N
Simon (D-24)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
<b>MISSOURI</b>																										
Clay (D-1)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Symington (D-2)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	+	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Sullivan (D-3)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	=	Y	?	Y	?	?	N	N	X
Randall (D-4)	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
Bolling (D-5)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Litton (D-6)	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	N	N
Taylor (R-7)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Ichord (D-8)	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	X	N	N	?	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
Hungate (D-9)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
Burlison (D-10)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N

# 1975 U.S. SENATE VOTES

SENATORS	HR 1589	S Res 4	S 7	HR 4592	<sup>a</sup> HR 2166	<sup>b</sup> HR 2166	<sup>a</sup> S 66	<sup>b</sup> S 66	<sup>a</sup> HR 4485	HR 4481	HR 6096	S 409	<sup>a</sup> S 200	<sup>b</sup> S 200	<sup>c</sup> S 200	<sup>d</sup> S 200	S 1730	<sup>a</sup> S 920	<sup>b</sup> S 920	<sup>c</sup> S 920	<sup>d</sup> S 920	<sup>e</sup> S 920	S 1662	<sup>b</sup> HR 4485	S 6	HR 6900	<sup>a</sup> HR 4222	<sup>b</sup> HR 4222	
ILLINOIS																													
Stevenson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Percy (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	=	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	+	?	+	+	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	+	N	Y
MISSOURI																													
Eagleton (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y
Symington (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	X	=	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?	?

# 1975 U.S. HOUSE VOTES

REPRESENTATIVES	c HR 4481	d HR 6219	e HR 6219	c HR 4485	HR 5899	S 818	d HR 25	H J Res 492	a HR 6860	b HR 6860	c HR 6860	d HR 6860	e HR 6860	HR 3474	HR 7001	HR 6334	d HR 4485	HR 8121	HR 7567	HR 5546	H Res 591	a HR 5901	b HR 5901	HR 9005	H Res 688	HR 9861
<b>ILLINOIS</b>																										
Metcalf (D-1)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	?	Y	✓	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	Y	Y
Murphy (D-2)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Russo (D-3)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Derwinski (R-4)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N
Fary (5)																										
Hyde (R-6)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Collins (D-7)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?	X	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Rostenkowski (D-8)	✓	?	?	Y	?	?	✓	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Yates (D-9)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mikva (D-10)	Y	Y	Y	Y	+	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	✓
Annunzio (D-11)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Crane R-12)	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N
McClory (R-13)	N	Y	P	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	X	?	?	Y	N
Erlenborn (R-14)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?	X	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Hall (D-15)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Anderson (R-16)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	?	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	N
O'Brien (R-17)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	+	N
Michel (R-18)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	?	?	Y	N	N	Y		N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
Railsback (R-19)	✓	?		?	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	X	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Findley (R-20)	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Madigan (R-21)	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Shipley (D-22)	Y	Y	Y	✓	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Price (D-23)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	✓	X	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Simon (D-24)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y

## MISSOURI

Clay (D-1)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	✓	?	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Symington (D-2)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	✓	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Sullivan (D-3)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Randall (D-4)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Bolling (D-5)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Litton (D-6)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Taylor (R-7)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Ichord (D-8)	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Hungate (D-9)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
Burlison (D-10)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N

# 1975 U.S. SENATE VOTES

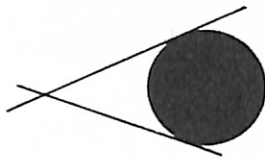
SENATORS	HR 5901	a HR 6674	b HR 6674	HR 8121	a S 1281	b S 1281	c S 1281	a S 963	b S 963	c S 963	a HR 8069	b HR 8069	c HR 8069
<b>ILLINOIS</b>													
Stevenson (D)	Y	-	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Percy (R)	Y	X	✓	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y
<b>MISSOURI</b>													
Eagleton (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Symington (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

## Available

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## COMING INTO FOCUS

Illinois State Representative **Daniel M. Pierce** (Highland Park, D), an advocate of cleaning up Lake Michigan and leader in the fight to prohibit the use of DDT and other dangerous pesticides in Illinois, was honored by the **U.S. Environmental Protection Agency**. Rep. Pierce is chairman of the House Committee on Environment, Energy and Natural Resources.

The **Bi-State bus system** in metropolitan St. Louis plans to lower bus fares for the elderly and handicapped from 15 cents to 10 cents as part of a new fare structure to take effect next June 30.

The U.S. House of Representatives voted to drop a \$233,000 appropriation for a 72-year-old program that offers rifle training and ammunition to civilians, though the item could be restored by the Senate. Rep. **Sidney R. Yates** (Chicago, D), who led the move against the appropriation, called it a "boondoggle" for the **National Rifle Association**, the only organization allowed to participate in the program.

Illinois has become the first state in the nation to mount a legal attack on the insidious practice of some banks and other financial institutions known as "redlining" — the systematic denial of home loans in

deteriorating urban neighborhoods. The **General Assembly** passed, and Gov. **Dan Walker** signed into law, two measures that together forbid lending institutions from discriminating against potential borrowers who want to purchase or improve homes in declining areas. The first measure requires the firms to file statements disclosing the areas in which residents have secured loans. The second forbids denial of a loan solely on the basis of a person's place of residence, as well as attacking the more subtle form of redlining such as requiring larger down payments, shorter term loans and higher interest rates.

The unsuccessful effort by some Congressmen to thwart enactment of the fund authorization bill for the **National Science Foundation** for fiscal 1976 produced exceedingly silly debate, even by Congressional standards. Critics assailed and ridiculed first one then another NSF research project and called for straitjacket supervision and control of them by (who else?) the Congress. Fresh air was injected into the hot air by the bill's floor manager in the House, **James W. Symington** of Missouri, who insisted that the uncertain and complex nature of much scientific research made Congressional review of every research grant improper. "Science is a complicated business," he pointed out. "We cannot stand here as judges of these intricate complex things, not in this room nor in my committee, except insofar as we look at the results at the end of the year and perhaps more frequently..."

After what **Clarence E. Olson**, book editor of the **St. Louis Post-Dispatch** described as "years of gestation and long

labors on the part of its creators," a new "little" magazine called **St. Louis Fiction** has come into being. A perceptive critic, Olson judged the content of the premier issue to be "a good start."

The **Research Institute of America, Inc.**, a conservative, business-oriented organization, is making suffering sounds about the Privacy Act of 1974, which it calls "a 'sleeper' law that spells trouble. It has the makings of a major headache for anyone who stores data on individuals in computers or just keeps manual records on them." To hear the Research Institute tell it, you'd think citizens are invading the privacy of corporations. Well, as Lucretius said, "What is food to one may be fierce poison to others." The Institute is appalled that the Privacy Protection Study Commission created by the Act will hold hearings soon to determine such "irrelevant" things as whether credit card applicants are being asked unnecessary questions, if such information is sold, or if individuals have a chance to correct the data; who has access to hotel guest and airline flight lists; what insurance companies do with information and what steps, if any, they take to verify information from third parties; whether an individual can get his name removed from mailing lists.

# Project Poll Announces

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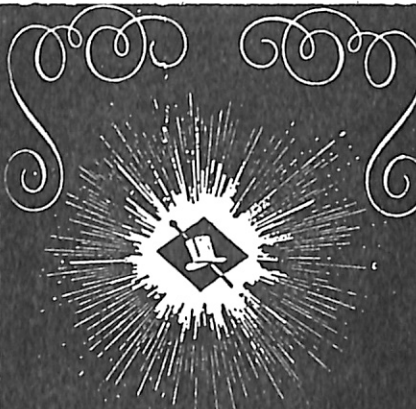
The **Illinois General Assembly in Profile** is available from Project POLL exclusively. A limited edition will go to press in December, 1975 and copies will be made available on an advance order basis. A special pre-publication price is now available. This offer is good thru October 31, 1975. Make check or money order payable to:

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# POEMS

\* /Simon Perchik

If you want a pose  
my father is braver.  
Once together  
I can remove my hat  
and your camera catch  
the likeness :his hair  
mine, our eyes — him  
at attention  
for the medal  
your dark contraption  
will click on his face. But me

if you still want the pose  
will be hugging my hat  
off to match my father's.

\*

There is a breath that enters, the mole  
pumped alive, its long seam  
humped, stitched :the monster  
wobbled, its leap  
measured —a fresher heart  
fresh brain, more air  
and my heels here! not here — two umps  
counting the toss and thunder: yells

tripped the mole — knees first! the chute  
till its skin  
thirty yards :the lightning  
never reached, "Dead ball!" mole  
waiting again for the flash, strapped  
under lockers, towels, waterfalls, a view

that enters, the dark  
carved by cleats, my eyes lashed shut  
swollen, I creak by damp rooms  
hear my echo knock, "Here!"  
not here —my breath leaking  
under this rusting light  
under these piling bodies.

River Days / Frank Higgins

'The day's not fit to continue' you say  
and rattle through your breeches to prove it.  
August dry spell — nothing moves  
not even the old fleabag's tail  
dumped at the step of the general store.  
Heatwaves wrinkle up off the river,  
everyone sees through Monday morning eyes  
and down Main Street one tumbleweed.

We tumble into the shade outside town,  
and you close your eyes and roll a big toe  
to keep horseflies on the move.  
Nearby, a scarecrow's sleeve flaps at bumblebees  
while I sit Indian style, light the peace-pipe  
and ug as I read the clouds.

'This day ain't fit for livin' you say  
rubbing up the sting of fresh chigger bites.  
"Um — Chief say man not live that not live in heat"  
but you finger your nose.

'I'm gonna lie here and pretend I'm dead'  
so you will always say, till some black fieldhand  
glancing up from his work lifts the cry  
"Steeeammmboat comin!"

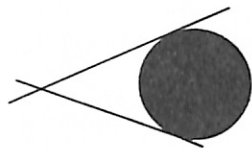
You Ask Me Why I'm Grinning / Frank Higgins

I'll tell you,  
it's all here on this scratch pad.  
I wash 12 windows  
an hour at this building,  
about 96 a day  
or 1,920 a month.  
A total of 23,040.  
That means in the two years  
I've worked here I've washed  
46,080 of these damn things.

I'm getting there, I'm getting there.

You see, it's this, five times now  
I've looked up to see some guy  
coming toward me.  
It's a shock at first  
but you get used to it.  
Well I divided 5  
into 46,080  
and it comes out  
one for every 9,216  
windows I've washed.  
So I've been keeping close count  
and today listen for sirens  
coz I figure to reach that number  
round 3 this afternoon.  
It's a sight to see.  
But you gotta look quick  
coz they go down fast.





## THE RIGHT WING

### AMERICANS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION

Charles A. McManus is resigning as operating head of Americans for Constitutional Action, organized in 1958 primarily to support conservative candidates for Congress. In the early sixties, ACA interlocked significantly with the John Birch Society, which came along a little after ACA did; but McManus worked successfully to separate the organization from the Birchers and make it a garden variety, Goldwater conservative influence. Until a few years ago, ACA was guided by retired Admiral Ben Moreell.

ACA ratings of Congressmen are still used as a yardstick of conservative ideology, but in recent years ACA has become crowded in the right wing by other groups competing for the same dollar and attention. Seven such groups have sprung up within the past few years.

### RIGHT WING CHEER DEFEAT OF LAND USE BILL

Among the many progressive measures considered by Congress, few have stirred up more opposition from the right wing than the land use bills sponsored the past few years by Representative Morris Udall of Arizona and Senator Henry Jackson of Washington. The rightists claim that the

proposals would destroy the right of property owners to use the land as they please and would load the citizenry with a big bureaucracy riding roughshod over state, county and local units. Some add a Communist plot.

The legislation was drafted in an attempt to stop development of land in ways which damage the environment of larger areas and population centers.

Among those declaring battle were Liberty Lobby and the John Birch Society, joined by other foes of regional planning and "big" government. Opposition also included ordinarily conservative groups which maintain Washington lobbies.

The land use bill was defeated narrowly last year in the House, and was brought up again July 15. It was defeated this time in the House Interior Committee, 23 to 19. *Human Events*, the conservative tabloid, gloated: "Conservatives Win Land Use Battle" and quoted a Democrat who has switched his position in the past year as saying that the bill drew more grass-roots opposition than any legislation he had seen during 15 years in the House.

### MEDICS SEEK RIGHT-WING COALITION

The right-wing doctors and dentists who are operating temporarily as the National Coordinating Council for Constructive Action met in Dallas as scheduled. Although some of the prime movers are Birchers, the first meeting produced a competition between the American Conservative Union and the Wallaceites for control. Their purpose is to go beyond medics into business and other organizations to form a true coalition of conservative, anti-government forces.

It has been about 13 years since a right-wing leader has tried to put together such a coalition. In 1962, Dr. Billy James Hargis came to Washington from Oklahoma to organize a combination and did proclaim the formation of the Anti-Communist Liaison. However, the coalition barely lasted through its first press release, and like-minded people have been asking ever since why they can't get together.

The driver of the new effort has been Frank Woolley, whose credentials in the right wing include service with the Americans for Constitutional Action, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the American Medical Association, and the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons. He is currently the top staffer of the latter group, which includes numerous Birchers.

Seasoned observers of the right doubt that the medics will have any more luck than predecessors in putting together an effective coalition, but it is significant that an effort is being made and that doctors and dentists have been able to attract others to their initial meeting.

### NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK COMMITTEE

The National Right to Work Committee has also organized a new group called Concerned Educators Against Forced Unionism. The list of 115 advisors, proclaimed a "who's who" in education, includes a number of activists in the right wing. Among them were identifiably right-wing professors William Hutt of the University of Dallas, Edwin Klotz, Superintendent of Schools at Newburg, N.Y., Gerhardt Niemeyer of Notre Dame and Hans Sennholz of Grove City College, also a Birch adviser.

## EDITORIAL

### More power to Daley or Walker?

(continued from page 6)

kids from the inner city . . . be given a fair shake."

The question is not education, labor, downstate vs upstate, Democrats vs Republicans, nor even the questionable political maneuvering by Walker, but only the continued aggrandizement of power by Daley.

Jerome Watson reports in the *Chicago Daily News* that a new City Council ordinance gives Daley's Health Board the right to seek and accept federal and state grants without Council approval; that new appointments (Michael Bilandic to Thomas E. Keane's role and Morgan Finley as clerk of the circuit court) boost Daley's control; that the replacement of the civil service by a personnel system may increase Daley's patronage army; and that the exploitation of the home-rule provisions (bonds can be issued by a simple vote of the City Council) reduces the Mayor's dependence on Springfield.

The Illinois political scene is bereft of any counterweight to Daley's influence except for some freshmen legislators and Walker. The influx of new faces to the General Assembly (54 in 1973 and 40 in 1975) has diluted Daley's strength. They would have been absorbed by the system except for Walker as a rallying point. The record of Daley's use and abuse of the citizens of Chicago, the degree of corruption among his entourage, and his unabashed brokerage of rewards and meting out of punishments are too well recorded to require amplification. A knight in shining armor to cut down the Daley dragon would be more pleasing, but Walker is all Illinois has and state senators better uphold his veto in the weeks ahead. Between the clubber of students in front of the Hilton and the author of the Police Riot Report — there is just no comparison.

U.S. Representative William L. Dickinson (R-Ala.) is assisting the National Right to Work Committee conduct a "survey."

First question: "Do you feel there is too much power concentrated in the hands of labor union officials?" Fifth and last question: "Would you vote for someone who had forced public employees to join a labor union or be fired?"

Representative Dickinson says "We need your vote to add to an overwhelming total" that would help defeat legislation proposed by "power-hungry union professionals" to force "more than 10,600,000 state and local government employees to join unions."

Dickinson, ignoring his switch in terms from "survey" to "vote," asks for an immediate answer, along with a check to pay for expenses of the campaign — apparently confident that his mailing will produce a satisfactory majority on his side of the issue.

## NEW CONSERVATIVE PUBLISHING VENTURES

• *National Spotlight*, one of the few new publishing ventures anywhere, made its first appearance September 17 with a professionally-produced format of 16 pages catering to the radical right constituency of Liberty Lobby, based in Washington a few blocks from the Capitol.

The tabloid, subtitled "the paper you can trust," is edited by Liberty Lobby staffers, plus James P. Tucker, Jr., a professional journalist who was an assistant managing editor of the *Washington Daily News* (purchased by the *Washington Star*).

The first issue featured John Coey, a white volunteer American whose career suggests a parallel with that of the martyred Captain John Birch in that he gave his life when he was "shot down in combat by Black communist terrorists in the dangerous north country of Rhodesia."

Other major articles claimed that the U.S. press was deceived by President Ford's meeting in Helsinki and described a joint picnic of U.S. tax rebels with a posse in California.

The second issue attacked busing and plugged the formation of an emergency "ham" radio network called "The Liberty Net" for "patriotic" operators. Circulation of 160,000 is being claimed.

• Another new publication, *Conservative Digest*, reprinting articles with a conservative slant, is now on the market. According to a "special offer" mail solicitation, the monthly magazine is edited by Lee Edwards, onetime director of information for the Goldwater for President Committee and editor of the conservative newsletter, "The Right Report."

A sample of titles of articles already published includes "When the Busing Had to Stop" by Robert W. Whitaker; "Ralph Nader — He's Cost the American Taxpayer

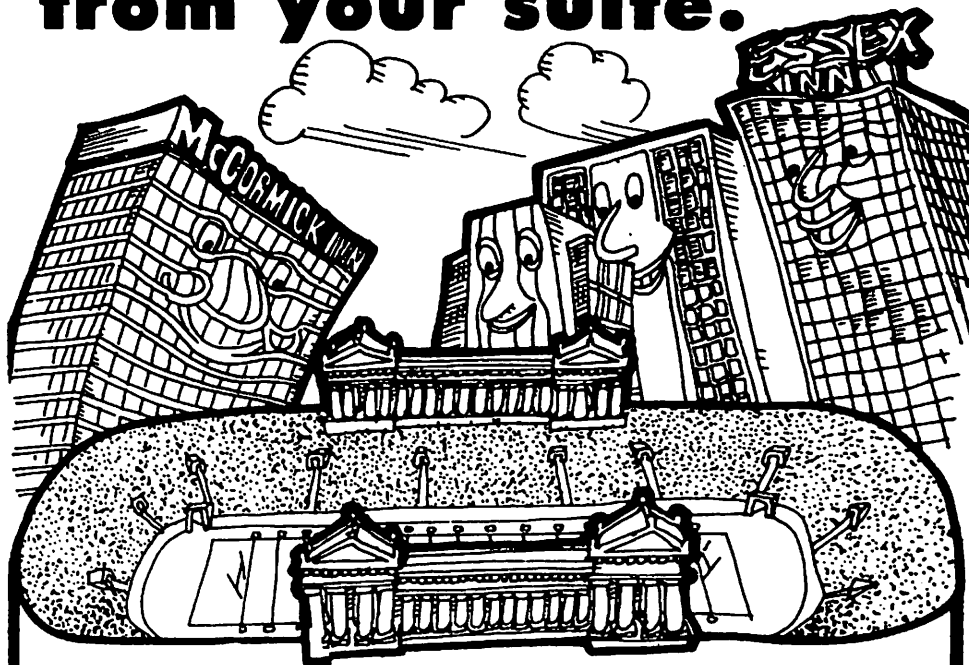
Billions," by Ralph De Toledano, and "A Wallace/Reagan Ticket" by Kevin Phillips.

## BIRCHERS ADD SPEAKERS

The September issue of the John Birch Society's *Bulletin*, shows that the radical-right organization has added a number of people to its Speakers Bureau: Rod Culp has been a Deputy U.S. Marshall, State Trooper and Deputy Sheriff. Mrs. Mary Helm has been an Oklahoma State Senator. Ron Wright is a sometime actor, radio

commentator and rebel against the IRS. Col. Jack Mohr, a Korean war prisoner, has been on the JBS circuit. Bill McIlhenny has been an employee of JBS in its Belmont, Mass., headquarters. Doug Durham was the chief aide and confidante of a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM) at the same time he was an informer for the FBI. Charles Smith, one of the blacks on the JBS circuit, preaches that the civil rights movement is part of a Communist plot. ■■

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Dec. 7	Detroit Lions
Dec. 14	St. Louis Cardinals

### Winds Games in Chicago:

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